

AN  
A D D R E S S

INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN DELIVERED  
AT A MEETING OF THE INHABITANTS OF IPSWICH,

ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17th,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF  
CONSIDERING THE PROPRIETY  
OF  
PETITIONING PARLIAMENT,

FOR AN  
A B O L I T I O N  
OF THE  
S L A V E T R A D E.

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BY R. HAMILTON, M.D. &c.

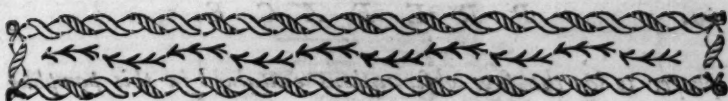
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M D C C X C I I .

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Gift of C. Rich Esq  
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## P R E F A C E.

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*THE following Address was intended to have been delivered before the Meeting on February 17th, in the Town-Hall, on seconding the Motion for the Abolition of the SLAVE-TRADE, that a more perfect idea of the nature of the Traffic might be given to such as favoured the Meeting with their presence. As it was apprehended by the friends of the measure, that the true state of the Negroes was not well understood; and that, therefore, many would hesitate in giving the Motion their Support, from want only of information on the subject.*

*The Meeting, on that day, was not so numerous as was expected, occasioned by the badness of the weather. No division then taking place on the question, the present short explanation was deferred. But when the Petition then voted, came to be signed, the following apology was used, viz. that they did not rightly understand the business; numbers otherwise well disposed made this excuse. To supply the defect, in some measure, it was thought*

iv. P R E F A C E.

*proper to lay the few observations contained in this pamphlet immediately before the town in general pending the time the Petition lay in the Hall for Signatures.*

*It is only a sketch of what might be said on the subject, but such as it is, we hope it will have proper weight with those that peruse it.*

*Nothing is advanced but on the best authority; and the Town may rely on the authenticity of the facts set forth. And farther, they may give credit for thousands more that could have been added.*

*As it was drawn up in the greatest haste for the above purpose, no farther apology will be made for imperfection in language, but it will be left as it is to the indulgent Reader.*





# ADDRESS, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

**Y**OU are now solemnly called on in the name of Honour, Virtue, Religion, in the cause of God, and of Man, to exert your firm endeavours, and to give your hearty approbation to a measure which has for its end the noble rights of Humanity, and its basis fixed on the firm and unshaken rock of Truth and eternal Justice.

You are called on to stifle the basest avarice, and to apply the healing hand to the wounds of millions of your fellow creatures!

You are called on to stop the horrid and bloody murders daily committed on the harmless and inoffensive Africans; torn from their beds, torn from their wives, torn from their children, from their friends, their country, and from all that is dear to them! way-laid, and kidnaped; tied hand and foot, borne off by these hunters of men; crammed down into the poisonous hold of a Slaving-Ship, thence to be transported to the British and other European Plantations, to be daily whipped like cattle (I mean such as survive of them), where they must labour more severely than the brute animals in other countries, where they are starved, maimed, and every other species of cruelty and barbarity practised on them, that the fertile genius of their task-masters, ever busy in contriving new cruelties, can invent!

You are called on, this day, to give your hearty disapprobation to these acts of barbarity, by humbly praying the Legislature of your country to put an end to these cruelties, and to decree in their wisdom that Britain shall no longer continue a traffic in human flesh, or give countenance to the annual massacre of ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND human beings, with *feelings, capacities, and souls* equal to our own! I say *one hundred thousand* human beings, for it has been incontrovertibly proved that not one less, but even more, oh, horrid thought! fall every year a sacrifice to this trade in the Colonies of Europeans, and by European contrivances, to glut avarice, and to give luxuries to a few only, when compared to the bulk of the people! I say, by European contrivances;



for it is a fact too well known, that the wars in Africa, between different Princes, and the lives that are thereby lost, or the murders of their own subjects in the acts of taking them captives for their Slave Markets, are the horrid contrivances of, and done at the instigations of Europeans!—And that therefore every man, whether he loses his life by fighting for his liberty at his own door, or in his own village;—whether he falls an untimely sacrifice to fatigue in his long journeys to the sea coast, or by the bad treatment, and poisonous exhalations on ship-board; or whether it be by the whip of the task-master on the Plantation, or that he dies in the *seasoning*, in which it is allowed that many lives are lost, TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND annually,—even all is to be placed at the door of the European! As, therefore, he is the main spring of the machine, every movement is to be attributed to him, and every murder is rightly and properly to be laid at his door;—the European's door,—the door of the christian; whose religion teaches him to do unto others as he would that others should do unto him,—whose religion teaches him peace, and good will towards all mankind,—and whose religion teaches him also, that all men are equal in the sight of that GOD from whom they, as well as he, received life and being; and who will judge them, both the Negroe and his Task-master, at the last day, according to the light that he has given them.

GENTLEMEN, was I to enter into all the details on this subject that the subject deserves, it would be the work of

more time than you can, I apprehend, at present spare, or than my abilities are able rightly to represent. I shall content myself at present by pointing out to your after perusal, some of those sources of information that the industry of a few men have afforded us; whose honest and upright hearts hold the traffic, and the murders it is productive of, in abomination and horror. Men who had no purpose to serve, but the cause of humanity, and deeply injured innocence—Men, who were not led away by the glare of wealth, or the temptations of avarice—Men, whose opportunities of the fullest information on the subject, give them every claim to your attention, and the serious consideration of what they offer, as the most convincing proofs of the injustice, as well as inhumanity and impolicy of the the Slave Trade, and its eternal warfare with the mandates of God, and the dictates of the Christian religion.

THE first author I shall mention on the subject, though not the first in point of time, is the industrious and indefatigable Mr. CLARKSON; he whom you have so lately had the pleasure, nay, I am justified in saying, the honour of seeing and conversing with, in person on the subject.

HIS conversation held with several of you, last week, has made, I trust, impressions, neither unfavourable to himself as a *man*, nor to the cause in which he is engaged; and in which he so earnestly wished to engage your attention.

HIS book, entitled, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the Africans*, is a master-piece in its kind, and will ever remain unanswered, and undiminished in its truth, because it is founded on facts, though all the chicanery and ingenuity of the Bristol and Liverpool Planters and Slave-Carriers, with the whole host of their *abettors* (and they have already attacked it), should rise up against him. When I mention this work, I need scarcely notice any other: for, though condensed in its manner, its matter is abundant and convincing in every page.

HERE he treats the business in the light of Humanity, and life a Christian Divine, to which denomination of men he belongs.

SINCE that, and very lately, he has favoured the world with a second Essay, wherein he takes up the subject in a more popular point of view; a point in which he hoped to be more attended to, as it spoke more forcibly home to mens' interests; and to the interests of Great-Britain, and her Colonies, as a great, and a flourishing state.

IN this he has put the matter even beyond a doubt, that it is the interest of this country, the political interest, I say, no longer to give countenance to the Traffic in Slaves.

PERUSE, *Gentlemen*, this small tract, and you will, I am confident, be fully satisfied on this head. This, then, being the case, Why should there be a demur? Why should there be a moment's hesitation in adopting the measure?

It is no easy task to stem prejudices, or to open people's eyes even to their own good, provided they have been long accustomed to view the thing under consideration in a different light, or to act in a contrary direction. I appeal to you all how slowly improvements of any sort are adopted; and that those men whose minds are more elevated, and who first conceive, and afterwards attempt to introduce any innovation, scheme, or improvement, different from common and received practice, are, among the generality of mankind, and even by otherwise well informed minds, viewed in the light of visionaries and madmen; and ages almost fleet away before the thing is adopted, and brought into common use.

In the year 1784, the Rev. Mr. RAMSAY took the subject under his consideration, and gave the world material information. He had resided 19 years in one of the British West-India Islands, and was well qualified for the undertaking, which was to inform us of the state of the Slaves there, and in the other Colonies. His work I shall have occasion by and by, to take some farther notice of. In that treatise he has given you some histories, sufficient to freeze the blood in your veins! These then are two of the latest writers; and after perusing them there



is scarcely occasion to read any more on the subject, both to furnish you with a full account of the manner the Slaves are procured, of the wickedness of Europeans, of the murders they are the cause of, as well among the Africans before they are taken, after they are on ship board, and in their passage, as of the treatment they receive when they are put to labour in the Plantations.

Two more of a late date I must not, however, pass over in silence; the one is a small performance written by Mr. FALCONBRIDGE, a late surgeon in the Slave-Trade.—In this you will find the manner the traffic is conducted on the African coast.

The other is, *The Abstract of the Evidence delivered before a select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1790 and 1791, on the part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* As the people who gave their evidence had no purpose to serve, and were most strictly questioned on every point, and I believe were on oath, you may give the fullest credit to their evidence. Read but this performance (and which has been only a few, a very few months ago put into our hands), then lay your hands on your hearts, and declare, with such feelings as will be thereby excited, if you can for a moment hesitate to give the fullest approbation to the uniting firmly in the interest of the friends of the abolition, whose endeavours are, and will be unwearied till they gain their point to check this accursed trade.

I MIGHT perhaps with advantage to your present information have pointed out some early writers on the subject; I might have mentioned among others, the pious and good Bishop of Chiapa, M. LE CASAS. He lived and wrote in the fifteenth century, soon after the traffic began, or rather was revived, for it began in 1503, first by the Portuguese, and afterwards by this nation, who took it up in 1556.

THIS amiable man, during his residence in Spanish America, was so sensibly affected at the treatment he saw the miserable Indians receive, that he took a journey to make a public remonstrance to the famous, and celebrated CHARLES V. : but avarice then, as well as now, set itself to work, compleatly prevailed, and rendered his remonstrance ineffectual. The prelate, however, did his duty, and boldly, and with spirit told the emperor, that heaven would, one day, call him to an account for these cruelties which he then had it in his power to prevent.

IN the last century, another good man started up; Mr. MORGAN GOODWYN, a British clergyman, who distinguished himself in the cause. What the effect of his labours were need not be told you; had he been successful we should not have had reason to meet here to day on the subject.

IN giving you this little detail of what has been attempted, and what has been done, it is of too much importance to pass over what was effected about 40 years

ago. About this time, or the year 1752, the colonial slavery was opposed by two worthy men of the society of Quakers, JOHN WOOLMAN, and ANTHONY BENEZET; Both these gentlemen devoted much of their time to the subject. WOOLMAN travelled through most parts of America on foot, to hold conversation with the members of his own sect, on the *Impiety* of retaining those in a state of involuntary *Servitude*, who had never given them offence.

BENEZET kept a free school at Philadelphia, for the education of Blacks. Soon after this, and in the year 1754, (no doubt owing in a great measure to their endeavours), the Quakers, ever forward in acts of goodness, piety, humanity, and lovers of peace and concord, testified their dislike to the traffic, and declared, that to live in ease, and plenty by the toil of those whom fraud and violence had put into their power, was neither consistent with christianity, nor common justice.

IMMEDIATELY on this, many, though at no small loss to their private interests, liberated their Slaves. This in a little time was followed by others; till in no great length of time not a Slave belonged to a member of that society, to whom his freedom was not given. And so strictly did they follow up this principle of justice, that membership was denied to such as should refuse to comply with it. But this was not all; they were earnestly exhorted, and even forbidden to have the least hand whatever in the

Slave-Trade.—And at this day, throughout all the vast track of North America, there is scarcely a Slave in the possession of an acknowledged Quaker.

It must not be withheld, however, that many other religious sects have since that imitated their example in these regions ; not only such as are of the Church of England, but Roman-Catholics, Presbyterians, and Independents : this, Gentlemen, I am confident will give many of you pleasure. Till within a few years ago, nothing, however, has in this country been done on the subject. What has nevertheless been attempted, has been with a spirit, and perseverance becoming Britons : not in a mutinous and riotous manner, but in Meetings regularly and orderly held, and in Resolutions entered into, that application should be made to the Legislature of our country, in a decent and becoming deportment, praying them in their wisdom to put a stop to so iniquitous a traffic.

THOUGH our endeavours have not hitherto been crowned with success, let us not despair. Let us remember what an host of foes we have to vanquish—Avarice and all her baleful train ! No means will be left unattempted to frustrate our labours. And let us keep in mind that in all the different invectives that have been published against our treatises, none has been written but by interested persons : either by a Planter, a Plantation Chaplain, an Agent, or some such concerned in the traffic. And nothing can shew the weakness of the cause



so forcibly, as when in place of argument they reply with abuse ; and this they have done in the bitterness and anguish of their hearts, in several instances, but especially in their abuse of the Rev. Mr. RAMSAY ; and this we must expect again.

THEY will now send their Counter-Petitions to the British Parliament, and doubtless magnify their great importance to the state, and puff themselves up, and swell, like the frog in the fable, till like it also they burst, and as a bubble be no more!

HAVING prefaced thus far, and pointed out sources from which you may receive a more compleat and full satisfaction on every point relative to the subject, and every objection answered in a satisfactory manner that it is almost possible to raise against it, I proceed now to a different part of the subject ; and shall attempt to give you some account of the Life of a Slave, chiefly in our own Islands ; of the Laws he has for his protection, and of the manner these are, for the most part, executed.

LET me suppose the Slave, *seasoned*, as they term it, and now put into the Gang, i. e. to his Plantation-work. One revolution of this globe, you know, is the same in every quarter of the world, and is divided into two parts called day and night, or into *two* twelve hours from which we reckon. This is enough for our present purpose. At four o'clock in the morning, then, the Slave-Bell rings :—there is no trifling here! all must leave

their huts almost in a moment ! the women in a state of pregnancy,—she with her infant at her breast,—the sick, the lame; those with their wounds undrest, inflicted by yesterday's flogging, covered with the dust of their matts instead of salve and bandage,—all without distinction must instantly obey the call, and speed them to their *labour*. I need not tell you in what this consists : sowing the land, planting, or weeding the cane; digging, ploughing, &c. , and such works of culture as the nature of the produce requires. Smack goes the driver's whip ! and not unfrequently some more blood is spilt before they arrive at the spot they are to commence their labours on ! generally it is those that suffer here, who are most unable to bear it ; the sick, the lame, &c. who have not sufficient strength to keep up with their fellows ! or the women with their children at their backs !

NAY, in some Plantations (for all that I advance, I refer you to the authors I have already mentioned), the custom is, to give, without distinction, so many lashes to every miserable Negroe before he goes to his labour, or without his having done any thing to deserve it, and this they do, because, as they say they will work the better for it throughout the day ! In this laborious and fatiguing employment they continue till nine. Gracious God ! five long hours, and sore backs into the bargain, without food ! Now, most merciful Task-masters ! in your goodness and humanity you grant them,—thirty minutes!—to eat their breakfasts, which they do in the fields ! We may easily suppose this is not hot rolls and butter, nor

yet porter and cold meat!—Nay coarse and homely as it is, for the most part, it is far from enough to satisfy the cravings of nature. And this we are well assured is the case, for their thefts are mostly confined to stealing the cane, or some other sort of victuals to satisfy their famished stomachs! And no wonder they be famished, when your generous and liberal allowances is no more than six ounces of flour for twenty-four hours to each! Ample provision!—noble and feeling masters!—but to return;

AGAIN, they fall to work; and in this they continue till eleven, or in some Plantations to twelve. Now the bell rings!—No doubt you will say, some respite will be now given them, after seven or eight hours constant labour! yes Gentlemen, so it is natural to conclude! but not so thinks or acts the Task-master, the Slave-driver! Now commences the most laborious, and difficult part of all the day's work! They are dispersed, to pick up, about the fences, in the mountains, and waste grounds, grass for the horses, and cattle. In collecting often their little bundles, as they must do, blade by blade, and pile by pile, in grounds often burnt up by the excessive heat of the sun, they have frequently to wander more than two miles from home. And it often happens, that on their return some lazy fellow of the intermediate Plantation, over which they were obliged to wander in search of their bundles, takes it from them, to save himself the trouble of picking his own grass, and pretends to insist on carrying them to *his master* for trespassing on his grounds, a crime which always, not only forfeits the bundle, but subjects the

offender to twenty lashes of a long cart whip of twisted leather thongs. Rather than that they should be taken to a strange Plantation, and flogged by a strange master, they not only suffer the bundle to be quietly taken from them, but often likewise submit to a good drubbing from the robber, who thus seizes on the fruits of their toil.—Observe the consequences!—The hour of delivering in his grafs, and of renewing his labour in the field approaches; while importunate hunger solicits him to remember its calls! But he must renew his toil, and search out, with as much expedition as he can, for some other spot to repair his loss, and procure his bundle of grafs. I should have mentioned that from an hour and an half only, to three hours, is thus allotted for preparing, eating their dinners, and for foraging. At length the bell rings again, summoning them to deliver in their grafs.—If they come too late, they are punished with from four to ten lashes; or suppose they are within the limited time, if the caprice of the Overseer should judge the bundle too small, the same punishment awaits them. Nay, some cruel masters, under a cloak of *carefulness* for their cattle, punish the less regarded Slave, his fellow creature, with no fewer than fifty lashes on these occasions. Are not the cattle far more humanely treated and better fed than these? let them deny it who dare. The Gentleman adds, who furnishes me with this account, the worthy clergyman Mr. RAMSAY, above alluded to, who is now settled in a neighbouring county, and to whom you yourselves may apply for further particulars, should you doubt his publication, I say Mr. R. adds, that this punishment never fails to disable them for *some weeks*.



BUT let us suppose, what frequently happens for the reasons already advanced, that the Slave cannot procure a second bundle ; he does not return ; he keeps away out of fear ; skulks about in the mountains ; hiding himself, and is thus sometimes absent from his work for months, till he is at length however caught ; and this being an aggravation of his crime, I leave you, Gentlemen, to conceive what follows ! I will only mention that it too often happens that he even pays with his life for a fault (no crime at most) which it was impossible for him to avoid ; for we shall see bye and bye, that a Law of the Colony offers a reward for such absent Slaves, “ dead or alive.”

WE have got the Slave, however, at his afternoon's work,—the whip again smacks, to push forward in their labour those who fall behind, or whose strength is not sufficient to enable them to do so much as their fellows,—for the whip is heard in the fields from morning to night, and seldom half an hour passes without some one experiencing its severity. It is now near sunset, and again are they obliged to disperse all over the fields, and at a distance to pick up their evening's bundle, in the same manner as in the forenoon. About seven o'clock, or sometimes later, just as the Overseer finds leisure, they are called over by the list to deliver in this their second portion of grass, where the same punishments as before await the same faults. They now separate, and repair to their respective huts, picking up in their way any little brush-wood they can find, or dried cow-dung, to kindle

their fire, and prepare some *simple mefs* for their suppers, and their breakfasts next day ! in this they are engaged till near twelve o'clock, midnight !—then they retire to sleep, till four o'clock, when the bell again calls them up to their labour ! Such is the life a Negroe Slave leads on the British Plantations, for upwards of six months in the year ! In the rest of the year, or what they call Crop Season, their labour varies, but not for the better : for here they are even worse off. Their work now consists in carrying the cane to the mills, and working it in these machines.

THE Slaves are now divided into lots, or watches : in some it seems, into three shares ; but in others only into two. This is a severe labour ; as they are then in their turns to sit up all night. In these Plantations where only *two lots* form the division, each division must forego part of the little portion of sleep they had allotted them before, which we have just seen, was little above *three hours and a half* out of twenty-four, each having only this portion now out of forty-eight hours : far, far, indeed, from sufficient to recruit his weary limbs, and refresh his eye-lids from their incessant watching, as is proved by the consequences ! For these who are able to keep their eyes open, and not fall asleep at the mill, are speedily worn out, and die ; while those again who now and then yield to the powerful calls of nature, fail not to suffer by the loss of a hand or an arm.

Nothing is more common than for them to be maimed in this way by the machine they are tending, as they nod over their work.

BUT you will, perhaps, answer, "They have surely some rest; they have one day in the week, they have *Sunday*; it must be that their masters allow them this day: nay, besides this, they have holidays." This we acknowledge. But let us before we proceed further, examine a little into the matter: this will be necessary, that it may the better be understood; and we shall soon find, that though on Sundays they do not work for their masters, they are not idle. In fact, if they do not work on Sunday for themselves, and snatch some little portion from the hours given them to sleep, they may starve: for not another is allowed them for this purpose, and even with all, they are almost famished, *six ounces of flour* being their allowance from their masters for twenty-four hours sustenance! Sunday then is spent in labour, as well as the rest of the week. They must cultivate their little spots of provision ground; and so much cultivation does it, for the most part, require, that it becomes no easy task to make it produce at all: for not a bit of ground, on which a *Cane* can grow, does the Planter allow them. It is generally some waste spot which cannot be brought into cultivation for the use of the owner, that is given them.

NOR does it unfrequently happen, when by much labour they have subdued the barren soil, that their

*kind* and *humane* Masters give themselves the trouble of taking it from them, allotting them some other spot, which tillage had never touched ! There is no redress—He is the Master, and They—his Slaves !

Now for the Holidays. Let us enquire into these ? In the French Islands, where the Slaves are far more humanely treated than in the British, and also better fed and cloathed, they have not only Sunday to themselves, but many Holidays. Not so with us : no day of respite from their usual fatigue, that deserve almost to be mentioned ! “But you allow, then, they have some.” Yes : on the very largest scale of computation they have *one* day in *fifty-two*. Wonderful indulgence !—Mighty *humane Masters* !—You give your horses and beasts of burthen one day in *seven*, to rest their weary limbs ; and your slaves,—beings with souls &c. like yourselves,—one in *fifty-two* !—or *three* at christmas, *two* at whitfuntide, and as many at easter !—this is the case at Jamaica. In some other Islands we think they do not get so many. But let us not forget to take into the account that it often happens, that the good, and humane planter has *now* and *then* occasion for the *afternoon* of these holidays. So that on the whole, if they be stated at *five* instead of *seven* days in the year, it will come nearer the truth, and be the sum total of their vacations. How *kind*, how *civil* it is of you to grant so many !—Surely such indulgence should be proclaimed to distant nations ! And so it is, good Sirs, long ere this, to your eternal disgrace !



WHILE I give this as the general picture, I am happy to be authorised in saying, there are a few objections: It would be hard, truly, if a few good Men were not to be found among so many Planters. But the number of those who deal tenderly by their Slaves, is small when compared to the whole, and will not warrant us to sketch our picture with a lighter shade; but we shall have occasion, bye and bye, to mention these, and to point out the happy effects of their lenity and mercy, as well to themselves as their slaves.

THE next part, Gentlemen, I proposed to give you an outline of, was, the Laws which the Negroe has for his protection. The Enemies of the Abolition speak much of the Laws, and do not fail to trump them forth in our ears, as a mighty bulwark against oppression. I shall now, Gentlemen, quote you the words of the worthy Mr. RAMSAY on this subject, for I cannot give them in better.

“THE English” says he,—Good God! Gentlemen,—the English!—cutting reflection! a nation that boasts of its constitution, its liberty, and its regard to the dictates of reason, and the law of human nature, as well as the christian code of moral duty! “The English have not,” he goes on, “paid the least attention to enforce by law, “either *humanity*, or *justice*, as these may respect their “Slaves. Many are the punishments, and severe are the “restrictions to which our Slaves are subjected. But “if,” he adds, “you except a Law that Governor LEAKE

“ got enacted in Nevis to distinguish Petty Larceny in  
 “ Slaves from Felony ; and a Law in Granada and Ja-  
 “ maica, that obligeth Masters to allot to their Slaves  
 “ a certain portion of land for the growth of provisions ;  
 “ and one in this last Island (Jamaica) that grants them  
 “ *Saturday afternoon* for the culture of it.” You see, that  
 even Provision Ground is not allowed in all places : nor  
 do I find any other author who mentions that Saturday  
 afternoon is allowed them : it must then be a late regu-  
 lation. “ I recollect not,” he continues, “ a single clause  
 “ in all our Colony Acts, (and I perused the several  
 “ Codes with a view of remarking such), enacted to se-  
 “ cure to them the least humane treatment, or to save  
 “ them from the capricious cruelty of an *unprincipled*  
 “ Master, or a *morose, unfeeling* Overseer. Nay, a horse,  
 “ a cow, or a sheep, is much better protected with us  
 “ by the law, than a poor Slave ! For these, if found  
 “ in a state of trespass are not to be injured, but secured  
 “ for their owners ; while a half-starved Negroe may,  
 “ for breaking a single cane, which probably he himself  
 “ has planted, be hacked to pieces with a cutlass ; even  
 “ though perhaps he be incapable of resistance, or of  
 “ running away from the watchman who finds him in  
 “ the fact !

“ NAY, we have men among us who dare boast of  
 “ their giving orders to their watchmen, not to bring  
 “ home any Slave that they find breaking of canes, but,  
 “ as they call it, to *hide* them ; i. e. to *kill*, and *bury*  
 “ them : and accordingly, every now-and-then, some

"poor wretch is missed, and some lacerated carcase discovered." Hear this! ye Abettors of Plantation *humanity*!—hear this! ye Christians of Great-Britain! which we dare avow on such authority to be the truth; then boast of your *justice*;—tell us, if you dare, after this detail, how well the Plantation Slaves are *used*, how they are *indulged*, how well they are *fed*, how well they are *clothed*, and attended in their *sickness*!—then compare them, as you have had the effrontery to do, to the Peasants of England, and impiously, and with falsehoods in your mouths, call their situation, *better*!!!—Such are the Laws, such the Protection afforded to the Slave!—The best, and the most welcome protection they receive, is when, in the *cant phrase*, they *bide* them! For then, unfortunate, and unprotected people! (and they consider it as such) shall they rest from anguish, and

"Before their last Sufferings how gladly they bend,

"For the strong arm of Death is the arm of a Friend!"\*

Poor, and friendless people! your sufferings are far beyond any thing that the annals of history affords! For the smallest neglect;—for absence some time from work;—for the trifling theft of breaking a cane, to satisfy your hunger, your punishments are, to be whipped at the cart, —beaten with a stick, even sometimes to the breaking of bones,—the chain,—an iron crook about your necks,—a large iron ring about your ancles,—and confinement in the dungeon!—slitting of ears, beating out of eyes, and *castration*! No punishments await the perpetrators

\* Vid. Song on the Suffering Negroes, by Dr. Sayer.

of these acts of barbarity!—for though the author above mentioned informs us, that of late years some of these acts of barbarity are much less perpetrated than formerly, yet, should they be done, there is no lasting disgrace brought upon the perpetrator thereof: though, for we are willing to give even the Devil his due, it is allowed that they are generally mentioned with indignation! But what avails this indignation if it be only in expression? Why do they not stigmatize the perpetrators with that lasting disgrace which they deserve? This would be going some length in checking the barbarity. But granting that these cruelties are less than formerly in use, yet the same respectable author, who, I apprehend, is in this instance, willing to cover them from some of the disgrace which he knows they well deserve to have laid open, acknowledges, that the *ordinary punishments* in the unfeeling manner, in which they are applied, ruin the constitution, and shorten the life of many a poor wretch. And it is subjoined in a note, notwithstanding the apology he has offered for them, viz. that of late, they do not so frequently break bones, slit ears, put out eyes, and *castrate*; “That in a certain Colony, no less than *two chief judges* “within thirty years,” (observe, Gentlemen, these Judges of the Law and Equity, to whom it was natural for the Slave to look for protection,) “have been *celebrated* for “cutting off, and mashing the limbs of their Slaves, so “as to make amputation necessary.” Observe again,—“The Surgeon was called to amputate; but he very “properly refused; saying, *he was not obliged to be the “instrument of any man’s cruelty.*” His Worship how-



ever,—this honourable, upright, and humane Judge, “had it done by a Cooper’s adze, and the wretch was “left to bleed to death without attention, or dressing.” Observe again what was the result: “People stared at “the recital, but made no enquiry for blood!”

THERE is a Law, we will allow, against mutilation: but it is a partial Law, and prevails only in one of the Colonies. The practice there becoming so very frequent, it was thought proper to enact such a law. But though the Master cannot in this Island chop off the limb of a Slave with an axe, he may, nevertheless, work, starve, and beat him to death with impunity. Mr. CLARKSON informs us, there are only *two* instances recorded by the “*receivers*, out of about *fifty thousand*, where a white “Man was put to death for the murder of a Negroe.” But it is to be believed, that they did not suffer so much for the crime of murdering their Slaves, as from their bad character, and being the pests of society. Here, then, we have no less than *fifty thousand* acknowledged murders, and only the blood of *two* were shed in expiation.

AFTER these details of horrid barbarity, I need scarcely add, that the Masters discourage their Slaves from being educated in the principles of the christian religion. Mr. RAMSAY took much pains on this subject. The masters were offended with him, they rose up in opposition to the measure, loaded him with abuse, telling him

that he aimed at making them *Christians* to render them incapable of being *good Slaves*.

AFTER these remarks, and many more of the same nature which could be brought as proofs, from those other authors you are already requested to peruse, you will recollect the speech of Sir WILLIAM YOUNG, last Sessions of Parliament, when the *Abolition* of the *Trade* came under the discussion of the House of Commons, how in lively colours of goodness and worth he painted the *Planter*, the *West-Indian*, (and we will grant that some, nay I have charity to hope many, deserved it), how he appealed to our *Poets* for the confirmation of his assertion, saying, that when one of the best comic Poets of the present age wanted to draw a compleat “Character of benevolence, he chose for this purpose a Man whom he decorated in the stile of the Drama, and called him the *West-Indian!*” But this respectable Senator ought to have remembered, that in this investigation the Fictions of Poets, even of our best Poets, and the Decorations of the Drama, must yield to incontestable Facts. Let him disprove our facts, and then, but not sooner, shall we give our attention to the fictitious personification of a character in a modern comedy.

To which of these relations then, are you to give credit, whether to the Poet, or to the virtuous, and honest Clergyman, representing things he knew from his long residence in the Islands, and wishing as a Christian Divine and a Man of Principle and Virtue, to propagate the Doctrine

of his religion, the christian faith, I leave with yourselves to determine.\*

I KNOW what your hearts at this moment dictate to you. Your wrath kindles at the misrepresentations that have been held forth, and you feel, and commiserate the unhappy lot of the *friendless*, and *unprotected* Negroe!

MUCH has been said about their capacities, or rather their want of capacities. This is another part of the subject I could most willingly enter upon, and vindicate them from such aspersions as tend to lower them in the link of creation, and of human beings. But this will be found most masterly, and convincingly done, by the authors I have already referred you to.

MANY, very many of them will be found to possess an elevation of sentiment, far, far beyond the men they are obliged to stile their masters. They are not, it is true, instructed; indeed, we have just now seen, they are not permitted to be taught at all in the principles of virtue. They do not, for that reason, consider actions that are criminal, in the same light that those do, who have been better educated. They see wickedness every hour practised around them; and so apt is example to be imitated, that in this many of them are sufficiently expert. They have great cunning, can over-reach, cheat, and deceive to a surpriz-

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\* It is not meant by this to detract from the Poets' merit, which is acknowledged to be great.—Much less question his veracity.—But the Character in the Play, and a present question have little relation.

ing degree.—Were they as brutes, and had no capacities as has been represented, surely they could not do this. There are also proofs on record of their elevation of sentiment, that must create astonishment where ever they are known; and as an instance of this, I shall beg leave just to run over the story of QUASHI, though several of you may already know it, as related by Mr. RAMSAY, who declares it to be true, for he heard it told in the presence of the master, who did not attempt to contradict it. This one example and which happened not above forty years ago, would be enough to wipe off the obloquy, and of itself sufficiently serve to convince us how much we wrong them, by estimating their capacities at so low a rate, as our vanity and pride have attempted to place them at.

“QUASHI was brought up in the family with his Master, as his play-fellow from his child-hood. Being a lad of towardly parts he rose to be driver, or black overseer under his master when the Plantation fell to him by succession. He retained for his master the tenderness that he had felt in childhood for his play-mate; and the respect with which the relation of master inspired him, was softened by the affection which the remembrance of their boyish intimacy kept alive in his breast. He had no separate interest of his own, and in his master's absence redoubled his diligence, that his affairs might receive no injury from it. In short, here was the most delicate, yet the most strong, and seemingly indissoluble tie, that could bind Master and Slave together.



“THOUGH the master had judgement to know when he was well served, and policy to reward good behaviour, he was inexorable when a fault was committed; and when there was but an apparent cause of suspicion, he was too apt to let prejudice usurp the place of proof. QUASHI could not exculpate himself to his satisfaction, for something done contrary to the discipline of the plantation, and was threatened with the ignominious punishment of the cart-whip; and he knew his master too well to doubt of the performance of his promise.

“A NEGROE, who has grown up to manhood, without a solemn cart-whipping, as some by good chance will, especially if distinguished by any accomplishment among his fellows, takes pride in what he calls the smoothness of his skin, its being unrazed by the whip; and he would be at more pains, and use more diligence to escape such cart-whipping, than many of our lower sort would use to shun the gallows. It is not uncommon” continues Mr. RAMSAY, “for a sober good Negroe to stab himself mortally, because some *boy-overseer* has flogged him for what he reckoned a trifle, or for his caprice, or threatened him with a flogging, when he thought he did not deserve it. QUASHI dreaded this mortal wound to his honour, and slipped away unnoticed with a view to avoid it.”

It is usual for Slaves, who expect to be punished for their own faults, or their Master's caprice, to go to some friend of their master's, and beg of him to carry them home and mediate for them. This is found to be so useful,

that humane masters are glad of the pretence of such mediation, and will secretly procure it to avoid the necessity of punishing for trifles; it otherwise not being prudent to pass over without correction a fault once taken notice of; while by this method an appearance of authority and discipline is kept up without the severity of it.

“QUASHI therefore withdrew, resolving to shelter himself, and save the glossy honours of his skin, under favour of this custom, till he had an opportunity of applying to an advocate. He lurked among his Master’s negroe huts, and his fellow Slaves had too much honour, and too great a regard for him to betray to their master the place of his retreat. Indeed it is hardly possible in any case, to get one Slave to inform against another, so much more honour have they than Europeans of low condition.

“THE following day a feast was kept on account of his Master’s Nephew then coming of age; amidst the good humour of which, QUASHI wished to succeed in his application. But before he could execute his design, it happened just as he was setting out to go and solicit this mediation, that his Master, while walking about his fields, fell in with him. Quashi on discovering him, ran off, and the Master, who is a robust man, pursued him. A stone, or a clod tripped Quashi up, just as the other reached out his hand to seize him; they fell together, and wrestled for the mastery, for Quashi was also a stout man, and the elevation of his mind added vigour to his arm. At last after a severe struggle, in which each had been several times uppermost,

Quashi got firmly seated on his Master's breast, now panting and out of breath, and with his weight, his thighs, and one hand, secured him motionless. He then drew out a sharp knife, and while the other lay in dreadful expectation, helpless, and shrinking unto himself, he thus addressed him, "Master, I was bred up with you from a child; I was your play-mate when a boy; I have loved you as myself; your interest has been my study; I am innocent of the cause of your suspicion; had I been guilty, my attachment to you might have pleaded for me. Yet you have condemned me to a punishment, of which I must ever have borne the disgraceful marks; thus only can I avoid them." With these words he drew the knife with all his strength across his own throat, and fell down dead without a groan on his Master, bathing him in his blood."

ON the above the reader may form his own opinion, but few, whatever they may think of the act, will deny a sympathizing sigh to the memory of the noble minded QUASHI! Another person of less noble sentiments would have killed the Man that fought his hurt!

THE Spectator has recorded another instance somewhat of a similar kind, which happened at St. Christopher's, about twelve years before the number (N<sup>o</sup> 215.) in which it is related was written; and Mr. RAMSAY when in that Island enquired into it, and found that it also was true. It is another instance of magnanimity, and proves, that inviolable friendships may be found among them, equal perhaps to any that are on record.

THOUGH most of you, gentlemen, will, I doubt not, now recollect it; I shall however just remind you of the leading circumstances, as related by the amiable Mr. ADDISON.

THERE was, it seems, a young Negroe girl on a Plantation, of most uncommon beauty, and esteemed as such among those of her own complexion. The Gentleman whose Slave she was, "had at the same time, two young fellows, who were likewise Negroe Slaves, remarkable for the comeliness of their persons, and for the *friendship which they bore to one another*. It unfortunately happened that both of them fell in love with the female Negroe above mentioned, who would have been very glad" says the Spectator, "to have taken either of them for her husband, provided they could agree between themselves which should be the man. But they were both so passionately in love with her, that neither of them could think of giving her up to his rival, and at the same time so true to one another, that neither of them would think of gaining her without his friend's consent. The torments of these two lovers were the discourse of the family to which they belonged, who could not forbear observing the strange complication of passions, which perplexed the hearts of the poor Negroes, that often dropped expressions of the uneasiness they underwent, and how impossible it was for either of them to be happy."

"AFTER a long struggle between love and friendship, truth and jealousy, they one day took a walk together



into a wood, carrying their mistress along with them: where after abundance of lamentations, they stabbed her to the heart, of which she immediately died. A Slave who was at his work not far from the place, where this astonishing piece of cruelty was committed, hearing the shrieks of the dying person, ran to see what was the occasion of them; he there discovered the Woman lying dead upon the ground, with the two Negroes on each side of her, kissing the dead corpse, weeping over it, and beating their breasts in the utmost agonies of grief and despair. He immediately ran to the English family, with the news of what he had seen; who upon coming to the place, saw the Woman dead, and the two Negroes expiring by her, with the wounds they had given themselves."

THE Spectator makes the following reflection; "Though the action," says he, "which I have recited is in itself full of guilt and horror, it proceeded from a temper of mind, which might have produced very noble fruits, had it been informed, and guided by a suitable education.—Thus far for sentiments, love, friendship, and if you please, the capacities of Negroes!"—Need any more reasoning be produced to prove them rational beings, and inferior perhaps in their abilities to no other nations? I should only affront your understandings, Gentlemen, by tracing this subject any farther.

AFTER thus having seen the situation of a Plantation Slave, and shewed that he does not want capacity, let me now take a view of him at home, in his own

country, at his own fire side, in his own cottage. Let me there behold him cheerful, contented, and happy; surrounded by his wife, his children, and his relations; let me view him following his little occupation, whether it be making some article of dress, or other rude manufactures, but sufficient to supply his wants; or at work planting his rice in his little plantation. Whether he is following the chase, or recreating himself in the sportive dance, or other harmless amusements. In whatever situation we now behold him, we shall see him in the full possession of liberty, and happiness!—A Slave-ship appears on the coast, or pursues her voyage up the river.—She anchors.—Terror and dismay now seize the poor African!—he knows for what purpose she visits their harbour; he dreads the name of Christian, and a White Man!—And well he may; for his captive kindred have but too plainly convinced him of their cruelty, and of their rapine! Too well he knows, they come not to proclaim peace, but to sow the seeds of discord, and to practice deceit!—To set towns and villages at war with each other, that they may obtain plunder, the plunder of *human flesh*, and carry those into captivity that survive the combat! Witness the many horrid scenes that are often perpetrated! and especially that one in 1767, the contrivances of the English slave crews, on the inhabitants of the Old and New-Town, on the Calabar river!—witness the blood spilt on that day, the hundreds that were murdered by their villany!—How they first set the inhabitants of these towns to quarrel, by which no fewer than *three hundred* were killed in the course of a few hours, on one side of the combatants, while they betrayed

the other party, who had trusted themselves to their honour, claiming the right of hospitality, and in the act of making them captives destroyed even of these many more!

FOR a small quantity of spirits, a bar of iron, some beads, or other such trinkets of which they are fond, the European sets them at war with each other: and while they are intoxicated with gin set them on to war, or carry them off while in this helpless state, themselves. Great advantage is taken of their proneness to intoxication; and so lately even as 1786, no less than 184,116 gallons of British spirits were shipped from the port of Liverpool, and sent thither. Their emissaries lie in wait among the long grass, by the sides of the path-ways; or among the rice in the fields, that they may seize the unwary, and unsuspecting passengers, whether men, women, or children. They bind them hand and foot, muffle their mouths to prevent their cries; and if they be near the sea coast, or rivers where the ships are stationed, carry them immediately thither; or in case none are near, to the next factories, or reservoirs, where they sell them to Merchants stationed there for that purpose: and so keen are they in this traffic, that it is pursued to the distance, we are told, of no less than *one thousand two hundred miles* from the coast.

OF the immense numbers that are annually made captives, full one half, it seems, are procured by this way,—by kidnapping. No regard is paid either to age, sex, or situation; the pregnant woman, the tender child, are equally carried off when opportunity offers. And the

men are frequently watched and seized as they go to cultivate their little plantations, or from village to village to visit, or perform the rites of hospitality and neighbourhood to one another.

THE morals of the African Princes the Europeans have likewise corrupted; for the wars that are made on each other's subjects, are for the sake of Prisoners to sell for Slaves that their avarice may be satiated, that they may purchase the *intoxicating poison*, gin, or other articles of luxury. Horrid is the slaughter that frequently follows these!—Many, many more fall in the field of battle, than what are taken alive!—for every ten made prisoners, it is computed a hundred lie slain! So that by those two methods, kidnapping and seizing, I mean of subjects, by the authority of their Prince, who frequently sends to set fire to their villages, that in the confusion he may make captives for the Slave-ships, no less than *eighty thousand* are sold annually on a moderate computation.

THE remaining *twenty thousand* that compleats the complement, at which the annual captives were stated, is obtained by prisoners of war, and convicts, or such as have committed crimes forbidden by their laws.

Now, if we take a view of the number annually killed, as already stated at a *hundred thousand*; and the time since the trade began or was rather renewed, viz. in 1503, by the Portuguese, and 53 years afterwards by the English; the number from that to this will be found immense, and



shocks the mind to reflect on it. Every ten years at this computation, is productive of the loss of *one million of lives!* and in one hundred years little short of the whole inhabitants of Great-Britain! Reflect on this, my neighbours and friends, who are this day met together to deprecate a farther continuance of shedding so much human blood, by an Abolition of the Traffic.

LET us now trace these poor wretches to the ship. In the long journies of such as were captured far up the country, that many of them have made, pitiable truly, by fatigue, lameness, and hardships of every kind, is their forlorn condition!—here we may see them coming in crowds, chained to one another; obliged to carry a heavy log of wood, to which their chains are fastened, now resting it on one hand, now on the other, then on their heads, shifting it in the best manner they are able to ease themselves. At length they are put into the boats, and reach the ship.

THEY are now bound two and two together, I mean the men, by fetters of solid iron, either by the leg, neck, or arm!—the men, we are told, occupy the fore-part, the women the after-part, and the children the middle of the ship. In this situation they must remain (sometimes many weeks) till the cargo be compleated.—What must you suppose the state, in this interim, of those poor people to be!—torn from all that is dear to them, and about to bid adieu for ever to their native land, and to enter upon a servitude, should they survive the passage,

of which they have, and justly, the most horrid notions? Some watch for a favourable opportunity to leap overboard, and thus end their lives. Others again, who cannot accomplish this, refuse all sustenance whatever, with the hopes of ending their days in this way.—For this *obstinacy*, as it is termed, they are severely *flogged*, and otherwise *punished*, by the *Receivers*; but many have persisted, and died by hunger alone. The scenes of hardship, and cruel usage that are to be seen here, are almost beyond belief: nor would they be credited, so apparently beyond probability are they, were they not substantiated by the strongest evidence. Some seek death in one way, some in another; some fall into despondency, some become mad; others by main force, in a fit of despair, making a powerful effort, break their bolts asunder, and rush at once on their detainers, revenging their injuries on the heads of their *Christian oppressors*. Insurrections of this kind often happen on board the ships.

STOWED close together, like logs of wood, 'tis no wonder if they soon become sickly; and dreadful are the scenes that now take place! panting for breath, buried in their filth, galled by their chains, and oppressed by disease!—but let me spare you, Gentlemen, this shocking recital, and let me leave you to imagine the rest?—Now and then they are brought upon deck to air, and to exercise! and here they are made to *leap*, or as it is called, *dance*, to the sound of the whip!—how changed is this dance from that they used to take in their native plains, in the possession of liberty, and in the midst of

domestic happiness!—how different *from* that heart-felt pleasure that accompanied their amusements, at home in their villages!—sick or well, whether cramped, and galled by their chains or not, still the whip makes them leap!—I need not trouble you with a recital of the mortality that takes place on the voyage. From what has already been said, it may easily be conceived. The number that die in the middle passage, are nearly one in four; so that if a ship's complement, which is sometimes the case, be *one thousand*,—no less than *three hundred* die before they reach the Plantations!

LET us now suppose their voyage at an end; let us see them landed in the Colonies. The next thing that takes place is, to prepare them for sale. Agents attend, who chuse and purchase just as it suits them; separating husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, with as little remorse, or as little regard to tears, and last embraces of the parties, as if they were a flock of cattle. Mr. CLARKSON relates the following instance, but it is one only of many, it seems, of the same kind which may be annually seen. “In a lot of Slaves,” says he, “that was thus exposed to sale, was an husband, wife, and child, in all probability a part of the hapless remnant of a village which had been depopulated to obtain them. It did not suit the purchaser to buy them all. Cruel task! to separate them for ever!—in vain did they remonstrate, by every sign and gesture that could be made! they embraced each other, they would not part; till the lash severed them from their

embraces. The unhappy man on looking round him the next day, saw an opportunity of putting a period to his life, he embraced it, and in a few minutes was no more."

I SHALL not lead you, Gentlemen, through the different ways the Slave Captains have of disposing of their cargoes, which in every part has something shocking in it. Suffice it to say, that the robust, and healthy are first made choice of; and that on many occasions several of the sickly and weakly are left on hand, the agents either being all supplied, or not choosing to bid for them. They are now a burthen to the ship, what becomes of them!—by this time, and having now some idea of the *humanity* of a *Slave Captain*, I may, spare myself the trouble of relating.—The thing suggests itself.—Dreadful thought!—most barbarous and inhuman traffic!—thus to throw overboard human creatures, bowed down with sickness, induced by their cruelty, and sunk into accumulated wretchedness, with as little remorse, as they would drown a kitten!—Surely heaven will, one day, revenge the injuries of this oppressed, and mal-treated people, on the heads of these perpetrators of the worst of crimes. One of the divine commandments is, "Thou shalt not kill." And when the first murder we read of was committed on innocent ABEL, a mark was set on the *murderer*, an indelible mark, by which all people were to *know him*. But what mark sufficiently strong, sufficiently legible, ought to be imprinted on the foreheads of the Tyrant Commanders of the Slave ships! The actions of some of them, as related in one of the publications already alluded to, for their cruelty as



well to their own *crews*, as to the slaves, surpasses any thing that tyranny and barbarity have hitherto been able to invent.

AND now Gentlemen, having mentioned this, let us with one mind, and with one voice lift up our hands against it! let us fly from this abomination, lest the vengeance of the *Almighty* should speedily overtake, and overwhelm us! for blood crieth for vengeance at the *throne* of GOD! Will you after this description taken from authors who have ascertained what they relate on the most incontestible ground of *facts*, credit the many *apologies*, and favourable *colourings*, these oppressors and depredators make for their traffic?—Will you believe them when they say, that as the Negroes are a barbarous, and uncivilized people in their own country, they bring them from thence to a better situation; to live among civilized people,—among *Christians*!—To live among Men, it is true, who call themselves *Christians*, but to behold nothing of christianity! nay, to behold every thing that christianity prohibits! Not to be civilized, as they boast!—nor yet taught morality, or any of those doctrines that the christian religion inculcates? After the picture already drawn, dare you, ye *Receivers, Slave-Captains, Planters, or Planter's-Agents*, make without a blush, this answer?—If they are taught Christianity, “*it will spoil them from being good Slaves.*”—Is not this the reply that has been given by you to the Rev. Mr. RAMSAY, who was desirous of teaching them, and did for sometime apply himself to this duty, till you, their masters, interposed?—Blush, blush to bring for-

ward this apology!—blush to use the name of Christian! You assert again, that their situation in their own country precludes happiness; and that they experience more in the Colonies than in Africa. Every man of common sense must know the contrary. Did any of them ever come to offer themselves voluntarily to you?—Not one. Does not every man of every country, be it what it may, the most barren, as well as the most fertile; the most inhospitable and insalubrious, as well as the most hospitable and healthy, ever leave it but with hopes of bettering his fortune, and strong hopes of his returning when this is accomplished! —“ Did your Slaves ever complain to you of their unhappiness, amidst their native woods, and deserts?”—says the learned and good Bishop of Gloucester, “or rather let me ask, did they ever cease complaining of their condition under you, their lordly masters; where they see, indeed, the accommodations of civil life, but see them all pass to others, themselves unbenefited by them. Be so gracious then, ye Petty Tyrants over Human Freedom, as to let your Slaves judge for themselves, what it is which makes their own happiness! and then see, whether they do not place it in the return to their own country, rather than in the contemplation of your grandeur, of which their misery makes so large a part,”\* Such is the language, and reasoning of the worthy Prelate on the subject,—and such is the answer reason makes to your *flimsy* excuses for your *piracy*, in men!

\* Vid. Sermon preached for propagating the Gospel.

WE have said that no less than a *hundred thousand* Negroes are annually dragged from their own land as Slaves. This is the average number; for in some years it considerably exceeds this; in 1786, it exceeded this by *four thousand one hundred*. In time of war the *Trade* falls off, on account of the risque of being taken by the enemy in the passage. As soon as war is at an end, it again revives, and in 1786 the number was a *hundred thousand*. The average number of ships employed to convey these is *three hundred and fifty*, and are sent out by several nations, viz. the English, Dutch, Portuguese, Danes, and the French. Observe how large a share the English have in it. They send out no less than a *hundred and thirty*, very nearly the half of the whole *shipping* employed:—and these only from *three English Ports*. For to the honour of the Island be it spoken, no other port in the Nation is engaged in it, London, Bristol, and Liverpool excepted. Not one from either Ireland, or Scotland. Of the three ports Liverpool is the chief: it fitted out no less than *ninety* of the above vessels; which is above a fourth of the whole ships employed by all nations in the *Traffic*.

THE number of Slaves that are annually imported by the English is also nearly a *half* of the *whole*; for it is no less than *forty-two thousand*. But the English colonies, it seems, want only about *eighteen thousand*.—What then becomes of the overplus, the remaining *twenty-four thousand*? They are carried to the colonies of other nations, and there disposed of. So that we are not satisfied alone to serve

our own colonies, but we very *kindly* assist our neighbours in serving theirs; thus pursuing a looting trade, and saving the expence to our enemies, whom we thus both *directly*, and *indirectly* continue to enrich. For we supply them with Slaves whereby they can cultivate their Plantations, and bring as much Sugar and Rum into the market as ourselves; and we are so obliging as to save them expences both in ships, and men, by supplying them with Slaves in our vessels. It would appear then that we are deliberately wicked, and rather than not *follow* this business, we become *carriers* for others;—loving the *groans* of *distress*, *obstinately* pursuing this detestable *Traffic*, even at a great national loss! Hence the character of this great Nation, eminent above others for its ideas of *Civil Liberty*, &c. must be blackened by a crime that its history will blush to relate, only to enrich a few *Slave-Captains* in three English ports; for all others loose by the trade.—Perish every Captain and others engaged in it, rather than that the English name should be stained by these foul deeds!—perish their *habitations*, like *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, for their abominations, if there be not as many good Men among them, who by their intercession with their country, and their setting a bright example by leaving off the business, shall in this way find favour and save them! Far be it from me to wish a single drop of blood shed; whether of those of my own nation, or of others.—But I repeat it, better that such an *insignificant* part should suffer, than that *fourteen millions* should be involved in their iniquity, and their history handed down to posterity, red in every page with the annual murder of so many Africans!



IT is with singular satisfaction that so small a part of the nation are actually engaged in it, as we have already mentioned. But as in law, the *receiver* is equally *guilty* with the *thief*, so must the whole of the British Nation, who countenance the *Traffic*, be justly considered as partakers in it; and while they suffer it, must share in the iniquity. Let but the nation withdraw its countenance, and then she will be free from the blame!

“Hark! heard ye not that piercing cry,  
 “Which shook the waves and rent the sky!  
 “Ev’n now, ev’n now, on yonder Western shores,  
 “Weeps pale despair, and writhing anguish roars:  
 “Ev’n now in Afric’s groves with hideous yell,  
 “Fierce Slav’ry stalks, and slips the dogs of hell;  
 “From vale to vale the gathering cries rebound,  
 “And sable nations tremble at the sound!—  
 —“YE BANDS OF SENATORS! whose suffrage sways  
 “Britannia’s realms, whom either *Ind* obeys;  
 “Who right the injur’d, and reward the brave,  
 “Stretch your strong arm, for ye have power to save!  
 “Thron’d in the vaulted heart, his dread resort,  
 “Inexorable *conscience* holds his court;  
 “With still small voice the plots of guilt alarms,  
 “Bares his mask’d brow, his lifted hand disarms;  
 “But wrapp’d in night with terrors all his own,  
 “He speaks in *thunder* when the deed is done.  
 “Hear him, ye *Senates*! hear this truth sublime,  
 “HE WHO ALLOWS OPPRESSION SHARES THE CRIME.”\*

BUT let us now, Gentlemen, take another ground, and change the question from justice and morality, to *national policy*. This is a favourite plea with many.—

\* Vid. *Loves of the Plants*, Cant. iii. v. 438.

It is *politic*, say they, to carry it on; not to mention that whatever is contrary to *justice* and *morality* can never be *politic*, as every good government must be founded in these, and the farther they recede from this standard, the nearer are they to their downfall; we shall bye and bye be enabled to see, that it is not *politic* even in the way they mean. The Nation is *not* enriched thereby: it tends every year somewhat more to impoverish it; and must still go on to do so, the longer it is continued. In a treatise on the *impolicy* of the *trade*, this subject will be found more amply discussed than our time will allow us here, and the *impolicy* satisfactorily proved. If we ask them whether it has answered the end to government in its present form, our reply must be, it *has not*.—And yet has not government afforded it more support than she has extended to any other branch of her trade?—she certainly has:—for “she squandered away more money by grants “for its prosecution,” we are assured, “in twenty years, “than on any other trade whatever.” For in this space of time, i. e. from 1750 to 1770, no less a sum than *three hundred thousand pounds* were granted for carrying it on. And to use the words of a Reverend Divine, Dr. PECKARD, in a sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, “Whether we consider the crime with respect to individuals immediately concerned in this barbarous and “cruel traffic, or whether we consider it as *patronized*, “and *encouraged* by the *laws* of the *land*, it presents to our “view an equal degree of enormity. A crime founded “on a dreadful pre-eminence in wickedness, a crime which “being both of individual and of the nation, must

“sometime draw down upon us the heaviest judgement  
 “of ALMIGHTY GOD, who made of one blood all the  
 “sons of Men, and who gave to all equally a natural  
 “right to liberty; and who ruling all the kingdoms of  
 “the earth with equal providential justice, cannot suffer  
 “such *deliberate*, such *monstrous* iniquity to pass long  
 “unpunished.”

BUT if the Slave-Trade be abolished, answer some of  
 our Politicians, we must give up our colonies. By no  
 means. It can be proved to the satisfaction of the unpre-  
 judiced, in the fullest and clearest manner, that instead  
 thereof the colonies will then, *and not till then*, flourish.  
 Were the present occasion such as to permit me to enter  
 into a detail of this part of the subject, such evidence could  
 be brought forward, as would set the matter in the  
 clearest light.

WE could shew, that in order for the cultivation of  
 these parts of the British dominions, there would be not  
 only no more need of a farther supply of Slaves from  
 Africa, but that in a short period of time, we should have  
 more than we had occasion for.

LET but a proper code of laws be made for their re-  
 gulation, instruction, civilization, and the institution of  
 marriage among them; let their masters be compelled to  
 use them tenderly, and humanely; let them be better fed,  
 clothed, and less wrought; and proper care paid to their  
 morals; and to the rearing of children; and let certain

*Emitted bounds* be set to their slavery, i.e. that their servitude may expire after a certain number of years, or when they are of a certain age; let them possess some property, and thus give them an interest in the country by attaching them to the soil, and instead of opposing the Abolition of the importation, you will in a short time have reason to bless God that it took place. For you will rear Slaves at far less expence; one will do the same labour as six with the assistance of cattle, which might be employed for many purposes, where slaves now are forced to labour, and carry burthens, as well as for ploughing, &c.

SURELY it is worth while to pay some attention to these suggestions; nay, it is worth while that the nation should. Half a million of its people, (and we are assured the number in the Islands is not less) for I shall give them this appellation, deserve some more notice: and one would suppose also a little *more* than is given to *brutes*; but as we have already seen, this is not the case. Morality is in no wise whatever attended to, "They are permitted," says the author of the History of Jamaica, "to cohabit with as many of their women as they please, and consider them for a time as their wives; but the two parties separate from each other, and form new connections of the same kind, as often as they think fit."

WHY do we not imitate the French, and enact a proper code of laws for them? There are rigorous laws enough against *them*, and in favour of their *masters*; but none for *them*, either as to their *personal safety*, or their *moral con-*



duct. The code *noir* of the French, contains many admirable regulations respecting the diet, cloathing, treatment, government, discipline, morals, and religion of the Negroes. It obliges every Planter to have his Slaves baptized, and instructed in the duties of Christianity. They have many days of rest for this purpose. It prohibits under severe penalties, all masters and managers from corrupting the female Slaves. It does not allow the Negroe husband, wife, and infant children to be sold separately, breaking the reciprocal ties of parents and children. It obliges them to maintain their old and infirm Slaves; and regulates their punishments, forbidding those that are immoderate. If they complain of bad usage, they have an officer, *the Procureur*, to redress them, who is appointed for this purpose, it is his duty to protect them. Ought not England to blush at the recital of this, conscious of her failure in every part?—Observe what the Spanish regulations at the Havannah are!—As soon as a Slave is landed, his name, price, &c. are entered into a publick register; and the Master is obliged by the law, to allow him one working day every week to himself, besides Sunday. So if he should chuse to work for his Master on that day, he receives the wages of a free man for it; and whatever he gains on that day, is so secured to him by law, that the Master cannot deprive him of it. As soon as the Slave is able to purchase another working day, the Master is obliged to sell it to him. The price is one fifth of his original cost. And also the other four days at the same price as soon as the Slave has as much money as will pay for them. There is benevolence highly commendable

in this institution: Such a regulation in our colonies might have great and good effects; might almost take away entirely the *sting* of slavery: at least it would create industry, favour, morality, and at length the Slave would, as the boon of his toil, obtain compleat freedom. It is not difficult, however, to see, why even such wholesome regulations as these, would not be attended with their proper advantages, while *importation* annually from Africa is permitted. For new Slaves constantly pouring in among the old, loaded with the accumulated miseries already described, and forced from their friends; being discontented and unhappy from these ills, and being likewise without knowledge either in the language, the labour, or the laws, or of civilization as practised here, the old and industrious Slaves would be constantly interrupted in their progress towards improvement.

BUT the children of Slaves long settled, and their offspring again, being natives of the soil, and educated in the language, laws, &c. of the country, would have an interest in it. The colonies would flourish; the Planters become rich; morality and order would be practised; the christian religion spread her blessings far around; and peace, and perpetual harmony prevail. In a course of time there would be no slavery at all in the land; and that which would be now *madness* to attempt, or to countenance, I mean *emancipation*, would gradually of itself take place, and the Creoles in servitude be like the Peasants, and men of the same class in England.

How weak, how easily to be refuted are many of the assertions of the friends of the Slave Trade! they have had the audacity, notwithstanding they know we have the same sources of information to apply to as themselves, to tell you, that if it be abolished, the nation will lose thereby a Trade in the export of its manufactures to the extent of *two Millions* and a *half* yearly.—This is an imposition too bare-faced to be passed over—can we not tell, and has it not been calculated to a pound almost; and can it not be clearly proved to be a *loosing*, not a *gaining* Trade? nay, is it not proved beyond a contradiction to those who will not be bold enough to contradict *truth*? the whole amount of the value of goods sent to Africa in 1786 was only £800,000—but one third being of Venetian, and East Indian Manufacture, when this is abstracted, the real value of British Manufacture is only 500,000, or half a million,—and even these are not all sold for the purchase of Slaves, but a considerable part exchanged for other things we now bring from thence, such as ivory, pepper, palm-oil, &c. and if this be abstracted, it reduces considerably the amount even of this half million.

Now, would they but for a moment suffer themselves to reflect, how much they would gain by encouraging a Trade in the productions of the Country, and how much more still they would be gainers by a greater demand for our Manufactures, one would be led to conclude, that they could not be so blind to their own interests, as to wish this traffic longer continued, so destructive to them in many shapes, and hindering them from pursuits so much more lucrative.

The Ships even employed in it do not last half so long, as if they were employed in a different trade, owing to the poisonous and corroding nature of the heat, and other effluvia from the Slaves. The owners of Slave Ships know this too well. Was the traffic abolished, great would soon be the consumption of our own Manufactures in comparison of what it is at present in Africa. Away then with this excuse. Let them blush to bring forward a position, the easy refutation of which is so obvious.

There is no species of argument however absurd, that is not brought forth to damp the ardour of the Friends of the Abolition, and hence it is no wonder that we hear of so ridiculous a one as the following, viz. that it will injure materially our Manufacturing Towns now connected with it. The chief of these are Manchester, and Birmingham.—To be convinced how fanciful are the ideas held forth on this occasion, only consult the little tract on the *impolicy* of the traffic, by Mr. Clarkson—for every thing there advanced, you will find the most striking proofs—nay, it is long since both these Towns, which it has been said would suffer so much, have united, and to their honour be it spoken, to shew the World the contrary by Petitioning for the Abolition, and still continue their most strenuous exertions, and this not by a few individuals, but by the most respectable and opulent of the People.—was it Abolished, these Towns well know what advantage different branches of trade would be to them, and to what an augmented extent they would export even the same Articles they now do, while in return, instead of Slaves, they would obtain among  
other



other valuable things, the finest cotton in the world, not exceeded by the Persian; this would render it a most valuable commodity to Manchester—and as to Birmingham, all Articles of Iron, Copper, &c. &c. in which they deal would be called for in an hundred fold as soon as arts and tillage &c. were introduced instead of kidnapping, and Wars, &c.

Liverpool has more Vessels employed in the trade than both the ports of London and Bristol united, yet it would be no difficult matter to shew on the clearest evidence, that even this Town, would not loose, but share in the general advantages—the Slave Trade, although they have so many Ships in it, is not the staple business of the Place; the Salt trade is the staple commodity. But the Slave Ship-Captains are all in arms against the measure, because they are the chief People that do make money in it—about £80,000 a Year is what they make, vid. Mr. Ramsay in his answer to objections.—Sugar, and Wine, and other foreign commodities would fully employ the Liverpool Vessels; and the profit be much greater than in the carrying of Slaves. They have 80 Vessels in the trade, and these would find full employment in bringing from the West-Indies, and other places, greater quantities of Articles for our markets than they now do; and as has already been seen, at less risque and waste of Vessels.

That the revenue would not be diminished is clear to those who will take the trouble to examine, when they will find, that the goods from our own Manufacturers pay no Duty; hence no revenue arises from them; and that the

goods taken to Africa from the Manufactures of other Nations, have a draw-back allowed very nearly equal to the Duty they paid on being Imported here.

Besides, consider that there has been times, and such times may again come, when little trade was carried on in Slaves. In time of War it dwindles to almost nothing—did we feel ourselves so much injured by the loss then?—I apprehend not. The Year preceeding the last War, I mean in 1772—no less than 175 Ships were fitted out from this Island for the Trade—in 1779 they were reduced to so few as 28.—Yet not a Pound of the revenue was lost in this period by the annihilation of the traffic.—For in 1772 when the greatest number of Ships were fitted out, the Importation, and the trade at its height, there were 1,766,422 hundred weight of Sugar Imported into this Country—that when it was nearly lost, there were no less than 1,441,943 hundred weight brought into Great Britain, so that the difference was very inconsiderable, and can never be made a plea for the traffic.—In this interval, the Ships however were not idle—they were engaged in different Trades. Ought not we then, Gentlemen, even on *political principles*, which by the bye is but a bad Argument if morality, the bases of good government be adverse to it, without loss of time to abolish our Traffic in Slaves? It is the grave of our Seamen, though it has been rediculously advanced and spread among such as had not considered the subject, as its nursery—it can be proved to the full satisfaction of every impartial Man, that more Seamen are lost in this trade in one Year, than in all the different branches

ches of trade taken together in which our Seamen are employed in two—to convince you of this, read Mr. C—'s treatise on the *impolicy* of it.—I shall just give you the result, which you will find more amply proved in the above work.—In 910 Seamen in Slave-Ships in one Year will be lost somewhat more than 200—

In the same number of Seamen employed for one Year in the East-Indies, West-Indies; in the Petersburg trade; the Newfoundland trade; and the trade to Greenland, only 87—astonishing fatuity, that we should endeavour with our eyes open, thus to ruin ourselves, and bury our Seamen, the very Bulwark, and defence of our Nation!

In the three Ports above mentioned, wherein the Slave traffic is carried on, the loss of Seamen is in the following proportion on an average.—From London between a fourth and a fifth of the Crew of every Vessel: from Bristol very near one fourth: and from Liverpool, one fifth.—Or taking it all together, the loss is very near one fourth in the Slave trade; while the loss in the other branches is not quite an eighth.—It is now full time we should reflect, and no longer suffer ourselves to be the dupes of interested, and avaricious Men.—And yet that avarice placed on a traffic so little calculated to obtain them wealth, compared as we have done, to other articles of Commerce.—

From Africa, we might have, instead of Slaves by which we loose, many valuable Drugs much cheaper, and some of them better than from other Markets; to sum up the  
variety

variety of these is needless—we have obtained from thence many valuable Drugs for Years past. But were the interior parts explored many more would doubtless be procured.—It was never thought till 1786 that Africa produced *G. Guaiacum*. Before this it afforded us Almonds, Palm-Oil, *G. Copal*, *G. Arab. Sang. Draconis*, and not many Years ago, as will be found in the works of the late eminent Dr. Fothergill, we found *G. rabrum astringens*, and *G. Euphorbium* there.—The woods it produces are various and beautiful, both for Cabinet work, for Dying, and for Ship-builders, &c.—There is a wood lately discovered they call it Doom-wood: that no worm will touch—whose specific gravity is equal to our Oak, and has the above quality to recommend it. How valuable an acquisition is this to a maritime nation! it would be tedious and unnecessary here to mention every article this valuable Country would give us were this abominable trade in human flesh Abolished, and the interior parts of the Continent explored.—Among many I shall just take notice of Grains of paradise—or malaguetta Pepper, long Pepper, black Pepper, the last of a much-superior quality, and pungency than the Asiatic: it is not above six Years since this was discovered.—And it is still later since the Cayenne was also found there—this happy discovery was made in 1787—besides these there is still another discovered about 20 Years ago, but a second specimen could never be procured, with the name of which no Person is acquainted—it is still preserved, and of such uncommon fragrance that it retains it to the present day.—Doubtless this will be found as soon as we have access properly to the Country, as well as many others yet unknown



unknown.—Cassia, or wild Cinnamon abounds;—the Nutmeg has been found there. If all these were cultivated by free Africans, and not by Slaves, and made branches of Commerce, we would have them for one fifth of their present price, obliged as we are, to buy them from the Dutch, &c.

But how ought we to rejoice to find Cotton in such abundance; Cotton, that is become of such Importance to our Manufactures—how much more cheap, as well as of infinitely superior quality is it here to any other place from whence it is procured, not excepting the Persian!—No less than Twenty Millions of Pounds of this Article were brought into Great Britain in 1786—there is too a species of the African cotton, crimson in the pod.—In 1786 this was discovered!—besides these natural productions, there are many more; Wool, Skins, Silver, Gold, Vermillion, Quicksilver, Musk, Silk-grass, Capsicum, the Sugar-cane, Tobacco, and the finest flavoured Rice. Shall we not abandon this abominable and criminal Traffic to pursue such valuable Commerce as the above? shall we still persist against justice, humanity, and against our own emoluments too, to carry on the most nefarious traffic that ever was invented? for shame; let the Nation consider its own true interest as well as its character.—How easily could it be proved that while we carry it on we are even affording our Enemies resources to injure us—we are destroying our Seamen thereby; while they are increasing theirs by our folly.—We sell Slaves to them; they are supplied without loss of Seamen; they are furnished with hands to cultivate more Land, and thus to encrease their wealth—for shame  
let

let us be no longer obstinate, but behold the truth ! in a word, if you take the Argument in ever so many points of view, still it will be against us to persist, and to import Slaves.—

We want no recruit of Slaves ; let us deal humanely, and wisely with those we have, and we shall be found to have enough.—Has not the experiment been tried by several Planters, men of humaner minds than the character the bulk of them have received, and have deserved ? read the work so often recommended, and be satisfied on this head. You will find six Estates in Jamaica where the proprietors, humane and good Men, and some of them now in England, where by less working their Slaves, and otherwise using them well, have had no diminution for 20 Years ; but bred as many as died—Women in a state of pregnancy should be exempted from labour during it : and during nursing also their labour should be always light and little. One of the above Proprietors, we are told, released every Woman from all obligation to labour, as soon as she had a certain number of Children fit to be put to work.

Besides these, and doubtless some others in Jamaica, and in other Islands, there are occasionally found Men of the same disposition, and where the same events have followed it—two of such is mentioned in St. Christopher's—in Barbadoes the same will also be found.—And it must not be forgotten, that these Masters came forward in the most disinterested manner to substantiate the fact.—In the Island of Antigua the same has happened in one Plantation at least.

least—and in Dominique another instance. Not to mention the Island of St. Domingo of late experiencing such troubles—likewise in the Danish Isles of St. Thomas, and St. Croix—also in two of the Granadillos there are two Plantations managed in the same manner—besides these several others—all this is a sufficient proof that the traffic in Slaves is not necessary, if good treatment be afforded, and marriage be instituted.—Where the reverse is practiced, which is done by the generality of the Planters, we already know the consequence; and that the Estates cannot be cultivated without an annual importation. When Children are born, they seldom come to maturity—they die early. How can it be otherwise? before they are weaned they must accompany their mothers to the field tied to their backs, and thus they work with them; or the mother must lay them down in a furrow, exposed first to the powerful heat of the sun, then to the heavy evening dews—how can they survive!—they die, we are told mostly of the locked jaw.—When they do get some breast-milk, it cannot be wholesome or nutritious—first, as they are themselves half starved—and secondly, as they are then heated, and in a fever, as it were by their labour, the milk must be crude, and perturbed, and more apt to induce disease, than afford nourishment to the babe who sucks it.

But were a different method pursued, the children would thrive; in a very few Years there would be none in the Islands but *Creoles*:—and we have already noticed how much more labour would be done by the same number of natives, in comparison to those imported, brought from their

habitations by force, and depressed in spirits for the loss of friends, and domestic comforts, unacquainted with our language, and ruled by a *rod of iron*!—

While I am on this head, I must beg leave just to mention the following which confirms what we have already been told by the Rev. Mr. Ramsay, viz. that the Planters would not suffer them to be either *taught*, or well treated.—During the american war—a refugee from thence settled with his Slaves in Jamaica; he was a humane and good man: and his people loved him as a father—they wrought moderately; and when they were sick he gave them himself constant attendance.—What was the consequence! behold their gratitude!—when they cultivated their little spots, they brought their *good master* the first fruits of them!—some of their poultry—some of their swine!—

The neighbouring Planters became angry with this good man for his indulgence.—they remonstrated with him—hear them! hear those iron-hearted task-masters!—they came to him, and told him, “he would ruin the discipline of his neighbour’s Slaves,” by his kindness—what was his reply?—it was like his actions, noble, and humane, and should have not only silenced them on the subject, but have induced them to have gone and done likewise.—“I treat my Slaves with lenity:” says he “they work four hours in the day less than yours. Notwithstanding these indulgences, they do *more work* than yours, who are whipped through it from morning till night. The comparative advantages are so great in my favour, from my present system, that if I paid



no regard to the calls of humanity, I must continue to pursue it."

Such was the language of this *honest*, and *humane* man, and such his opinion! no apology, then, can be made with propriety, for the bad treatment that Slaves receive, which as we have just seen, even their interest forbids them to pursue.—

When the number yearly carried away was stated, it was then said, that an *equal number* lost their lives,—and the following table will at one view shew this, and prove the assertion.—

The Europeans Transport annually, of which ENGLAND carries away nearly the half,

No less than 100,000.

These are obtained in the following manner, *viz.*

By Kidnapping, full . . . . .	80,000
By Convicts, and by those bred by the african Traders for Slaves, . . }	14,000
By Prisoners of War, about . . . . .	6,000
<i>Total</i>	<u>100,000</u>

We shall next shew, that a number equal to this annually lose their Lives; which proves what had been advanced in the first page of the foregoing address.

It was found that by War there were obtained annually, 6,000. and

It was likewise proved, that for every one of these taken captive in War, ten lost their Lives in the Conflict, this is . . . . } . 60,000  
or more than one half of the whole.

By the Voyage to the Plantations are lost also more than . . . . . } . 15,000

In Seasoning, one in four, or, . . . . . 25,000

Hence the annual deaths are equal } Total 100,000  
to the annual Importation.

This Account is under-rated, that there may be no room left for caviling by the Adversaries of the Abolition.

But though we have said, that for one captive taken in war, ten are killed, this is too low a statement; for so furiously do they fight sometimes, on both sides, the defenders for *victory* to save themselves from slavery and its baneful effects; and the aggressors for *Captives*, that the *Slavers*, or those making war for the sake of Prisoners, forgetting their first intention, from finding stronger resistance than they expected, soon feel different passions urge them, and murder in revenge, *every soul* they take. A description of one of these battles is given by Mr. Clarkson, *vid. Essay on Slavery, &c. p. 71, Ed. 2d.*—from a Person who was in fight during the Engagement.—As it is not long,

I shall transcribe it for the perusal of those who have not seen the work in which it is related.—

“I was sent,” says the Gentlemen, “with several others in a small Sloop up the River Niger, to purchase Slaves: we had some free Negroes with us in the practice, and as the Vessels are liable to frequent attacks from the Negroes on one side of the River, or the Moors on the other, they are all armed. As we rode at Anchor a long way up the River, we observed a large number of Negroes in huts by the River’s side, and for our own safety kept a wary eye on them. Early next Morning we saw from our Mast-head, a numerous body approaching, with apparently but little order, but in close array. They approached very fast, and fell furiously on the Inhabitants of the Town, who seemed to be quite surprized, but nevertheless, as soon as they could get together, fought stoutly. They had some Fire-arms, but made very little use of them, as they came directly to close fighting with their Spears, Lances, and Sabres. Many of the Invaders were mounted on small Horses; and both Parties fought for about half an hour with the fiercest animosity, exerting much more courage and perseverance than I had ever before been witness to amongst them.”

The Women and Children of the Town clustered together to the water’s edge, running shrieking up and down with terror, waiting the event of the combat, till their party gave way, and took to the water, to endeavour to swim over to the Barbary side. They were closely pursued even into the river by the victors, who, though they came  
for

for the purpose of *getting Slaves*, gave no quarter, *their cruelty even prevailing over their avarice*, they made no Prisoners, but put all to the sword without mercy.

Horrible indeed, was the carnage of the vanquished on this occasion; and as we were within two, or three hundred yards of them, their cries and shrieks affected us extremely. We had got up our Anchor at the beginning of the fray, and now stood close to the spot, where the victors having followed the vanquished into the water, were continually dragging them out, and murdering those, whom by reason of their wounds they easily overtook. The very Children whom they took in great numbers, did not escape the Massacre.

Enraged at their barbarity, we fired our guns loaded with grape shot, and a volley of small arms among them, which effectually checked their ardor, and obliged them to retire to a distance from the shore, from whence a few round cannon shot soon removed them into the woods.

The whole river was black over with the heads of the fugitives, who were swimming for their lives. These poor wretches fearing us as much as their conquerors, dived when we fired, and cried most lamentably for mercy. Having now effectually favoured their retreat, we stood backwards, and forwards, and took up several that were wounded, and tired.

All whose wounds had disabled them from swimming, were either butchered, or drowned before we got up to them.  
With



With a justice and generosity *never I believe heard of before among Slavers*, we gave those their liberty whom we had taken up, setting them on shore on the Barbary side, among the poor residue of their companions, who had survived the slaughter of the Morning."

Such is the picture of an african skirmish, and such the slaughter committed ! hence it will appear that the prisoners of war are obtained by as *unjust means* as those by kidnapping ; and as to those procured, who, it is said, were *convicts*, it is well known what snares are laid to tempt them to commit such offences as gives *pretext* to the Prince to sell them for captives, his own *avarice* being the instigation. Among other crimes, adultery is punished by captivity ; and Women are hired to entice the Men, who afterwards inform against them.—But I beg leave now to close this scene, and only add, that were there no market for Slaves, there would be no temptation held out for the commission of such *injustice*, and *barbarity*. Europeans first set them on, and continue to keep these practices in vigor.—

Thus, then, you have now some idea of an african battle, and the number slain in proportion to the number made prisoners !

Having mentioned likewise the barbarity of the ship-captains to their crews, and asserted that instead of the trade being a nursery for our Seamen, it is a grave for them, it is proper that some specimen of this should be laid before you.—Take the following from Mr. Clarkson's Essay, on the impolicy of th e trade.

He

He begins, *vid. p. 40*—by informing us, that slave ship-captains use an instrument of punishment, such as is not used in any other Vessel *in trade*, except in the *East-Indian*.—"The handle of it is a rope of *three inches and a half* in circumference, and it has nine tails attached to it of knotted cord."—This is constructed as soon as they have cleared the *Black Rock*, going out from Liverpool; and from Bristol as soon as they have passed the *Island of Lundy*.—they do not begin to use it much till they are near the coast.—"But here" says Mr. C— "a tragedy commences of which the reader can have no conception"—"I am sensible, were I to talk in general terms of the cruelties exercised on the Seamen in this trade, I should have but little credit paid to my narration, nor would the public have that idea of them that it is the duty of every person acquainted with the facts to communicate.—I shall confine myself then on the present occasion to the occurrences in one Ship."—He now gives you the muster roll of this Vessel.—and he mentions specifically the treatment of the crew. Suffice is to say, that most of them were *murdered* by his brutality, and inhumanity.—I shall mention one case only, and then you will form some idea of the others.—It must not be forgotten however, that this *humane* Captain had on board also a large Dog, which he was accustomed to set upon the men for his diversion; "at the same time swearing," says Mr. C— "that if any of the crew should attempt to take off the Dog on any such occasion, he would shoot him for the attempt."—This Dog, it seems, had plenty of work, and many a wound, and gash he inflicted.—

The

"The person whose case, continues Mr. C—, I am now to relate, was a black Seamen, who had entered himself in England as cook of the Vessel."—He knocked him down almost daily, he flogged him repeatedly on his naked back with his own hands; for so much pleasure did he receive from the exercise of cruelty and oppression, that he became the executioner on these occasions. He put a large chain about his neck, at the end of which was fastened a log of wood. In this chain he compelled him to do his duty as cook of the Vessel, beating him severely in the interim and kicking him about for his diversion.

At one time he ordered him to be tied up for no fault whatever, and he flogged him in such an unmerciful manner, that it was apprehended his arm would mortify, and nothing but the skill, and assiduity of the Surgeon saved it at last.

At another time he was ordered by the Captain into his cabin. The pretence was this, that he had not roasted the yams properly. (Which is a luncheon at 12 o'clock) as soon as he entered the cabin door, the inhuman wretch for his diversion, darted a knife and fork at him. The poor Man fled in consternation from the cabin, the Captain pursued him, and to compleat his cruelty, set his Dog upon him as usual. The animal immediately obeyed, tore off his frock, and bit him in several places. I must add, that it was almost the daily practice of this Barbarian to send for the above black Seaman into his cabin, and to divert himself with darting at him the instrument before mentioned, whenever he could get what he termed, a *fair mark*.

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At another time he darted at him an instrument which was commonly used for striking fish. It consisted of a large thick stick, with a quantity of lead at one end of it, and three or four prongs, or javelins at the other. This instrument was thrown at him with great force, and, unless he had fortunately stooped, he must have been killed, as it went just over his head, and struck into the boards of the barricade of the Vessel. The breaking of a plate was the grand crime that was imputed to him on this occasion.

At another time he was flogged as before, and so severely, that he was cut from the neck to the small of the back in a shocking manner. When the operation was over, the Captain called for a bucket, in which he mixed pepper and salt-water, and then anointed his back, with a view to encrease his pain. In short, so barbarous was his conduct to this poor fellow, that he became insensible at last, and, full of scars, and unable to walk upright, he frequently crawled in his chain, like a dog, upon all-fours; the Captain by his ill usage having reduced him both in form and mind to a level with the brute creation.”—“I shall close my account here,” says Mr. C—“and with this observation, that out of a *crew*, consisting of 51 persons, there were only three that escaped the barbarity of this monster in human shape.”—

“The reader” he adds, “will probably think from the dismal History now offered to their perusal, that I have at least singled out a Ship, where the treatment was more unfavourable than in any other in the same line. But I positively



tively deny any charge that may be brought against me in this particular. I can specify instances of deliberate barbarity exercised on the bodies of british Seamen in this trade, that exceed any I have yet described ; and I assert further, that out of the Captains of 20 Ships taken promiscuously in it, I cannot find upon a minute investigation, more than three, whatever may be their appearance at home, that are Men of common humanity on their respective voyages.”—

Another tale of woe I shall just mention—the subject of this case was proved on oath ; and however barbarous it is, you may, Gentlemen, rely on its truth. The Ship was in a river on the coast of Africa, waiting for Slaves—the Captain had been on shore, but on the evening came on board. On being informed of a circumstance which a favorite had *devised* to have happened in his absence from the Ship, he called for a certain Seaman. Without any kind of enquiry, and with that impetuosity, and disposition, which mark the principal agents in this trade, he immediately knocked him down, tore his shirt from his back with his own hands, and ordered him to be tied up for the purpose of flogging him.

When the poor innocent Man was sufficiently secured, the Captain took up the cat, which was a rope of three inches and an half in circumference, with 9 tails at one end of it, and a double walled knot of nearly eight inches in circumference, at the other. He beat him alternately with each end, and frequently on the back part of the head, with the knot described. When his right hand was tired, he cursed it for being unable to perform its office compleatly, and had then resource to his left.

Being too much wearied at length to continue the operation to his mind, he applied to an officer of the Ship, and ordered him to exert his strength after the example given, on the back of this innocent and unoffending Man, the officer felt himself in a situation to be obliged to comply with his commands, but struck him only with the tail end of the instrument before described.

A second officer being applied to for the same purpose, flogged him in the same manner, till the tails of the cat were worn into shreds, and it became no longer an instrument of pain.

By this time the Captain had rested himself sufficiently to renew his task. He pulled off his jacket, tucked up the sleeves of his shirt, ordered another cat of the same kind to be brought, and used it in the same manner. To abbreviate this tale of woe, I shall say at once, that the punishment, from the time of its commencement, to the time of its discontinuance, lasted for *three hours*.

The unhappy Man unable to sustain this accumulated persecution, had fainted before the operation was over; his head had hung on his shoulder; and when he was taken down, he lay motionless on the deck. The barbarian of the Ship, not yet satisfied with his diabolical treatment of the unfortunate victim, ordered his hands and feet to be fastened together, his right hand to his left foot, and his left hand to his right. When this was done, a rope was made fast to the shackled limbs, and, like a cask, he was  
hoisted

hoisted up from the deck. He was afterwards let down by the means of the same rope, into a boat which was then lying by the side of the Vessel in this boat, and in this confined situation, he was left for the remainder of the night.

About five o'Clock on the next morning, a Seaman having found his way into the boat, came up again, and reported that the unfortunate man was dead. In consequence of this, his body was brought up, and laid in the waste of the Vessel. another, who was his messmate, on coming up and seeing him there, had the curiosity to examine him. In feeling above his neck, three of his fingers found their way into a hole in the skull, which he, one of the deponents said, had been made by the double walled knot of the cat before described, and which had been applied to him there in the most unmerciful manner. In withdrawing them from the wound, a great quantity of blood issued out, and came upon deck.

The tyrant of the Ship when he arose in the morning, and saw the body in its bleeding state, expressed no emotions of pity or concern, but, in a rough and imperious tone, only ordered it to be buried."—

It may not be amiss to remark, "says the author of this history" that the unhappy victim had been in full health and vigor but the preceding night. He had been uncommonly chearful, and had played on his flute just before the transaction happened, while the rest of the Seamen, danced. In the morning, however,—he was no more." Who can  
peruse

peruse this, and not shudder.—All on board, it seems, is deliberate barbarity. An unfortunate Sailor cannot speak, or complain, but it is an offence against discipline, and an offence also never to be forgiven.—

After these details, Gentlemen, all tending to prove that humanity, morality, and true *policy* unite to call aloud for the *immediate* Abolition of the Slave Trade, I trust none who are present to day, will depart satisfied on the subject, without in the most hearty, and warmest manner assenting to the purpose of our meeting, and with one voice, and one mind unite earnestly, though in a becoming manner, to solicit the Legislature of our Country, to take it under its wise, and mature deliberation, and that you will at once, regardless of the suggestions of avarice, subscribe your names to the prayer of the petition, that a total, and *immediate* stop be put to a traffic so painful to every breast to reflect on, so immoral in its tendency, and even so impolitic in the Nation at large.—A Nation not less famed for its bravery, than for its mercy!—mercy did I say!—yes mercy—that teacheth us, “to feel another’s for woe” and to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us.—

“The quality of mercy is not strain’d,”  
(saith the immortal Shakespeare,)

“It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven

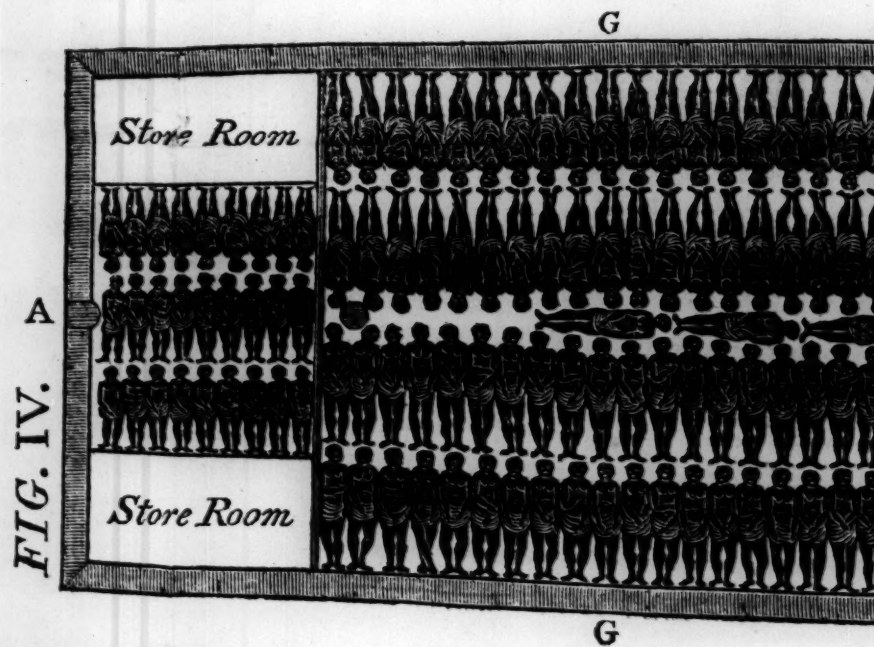
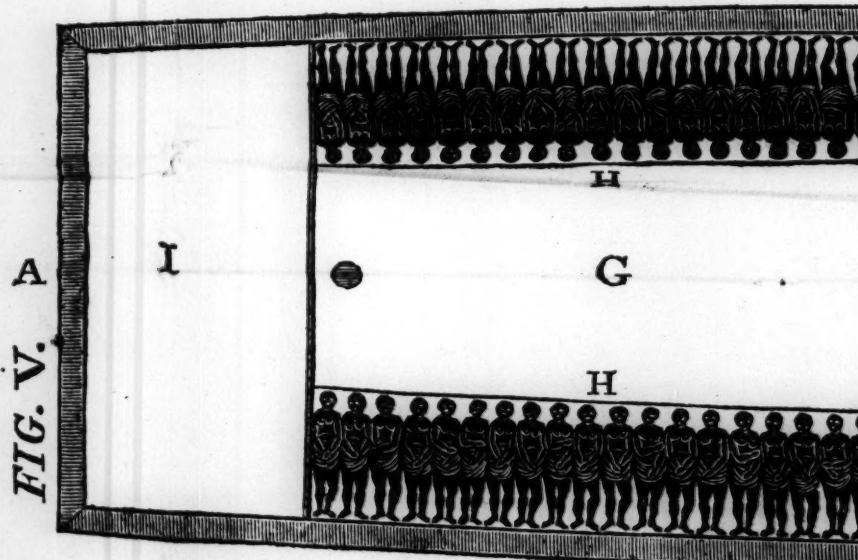
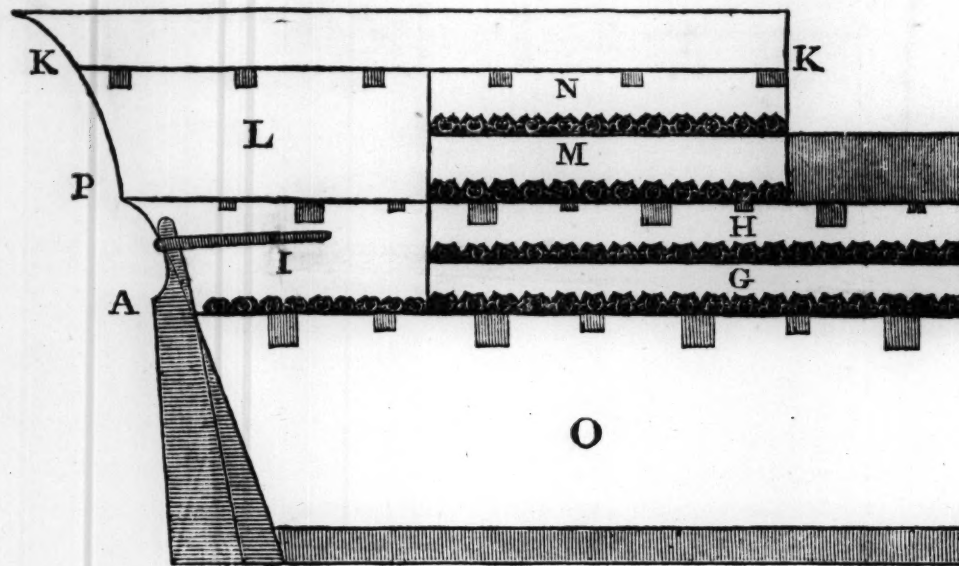
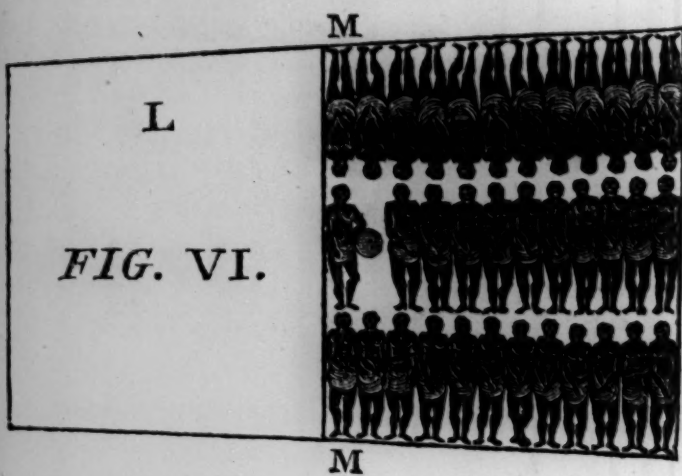
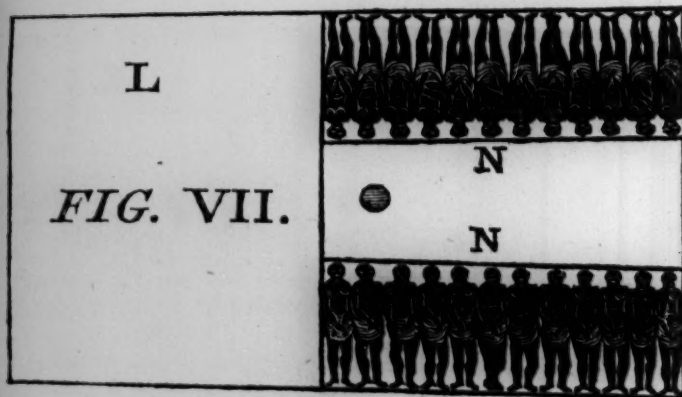
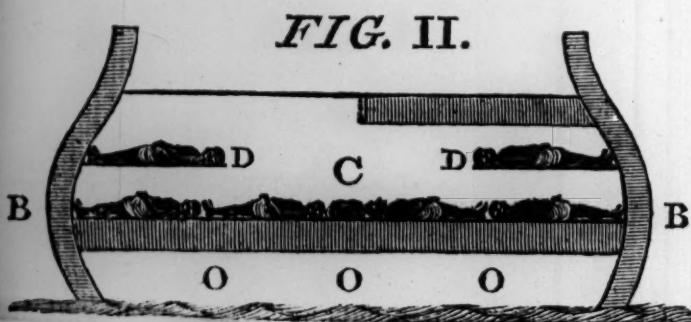
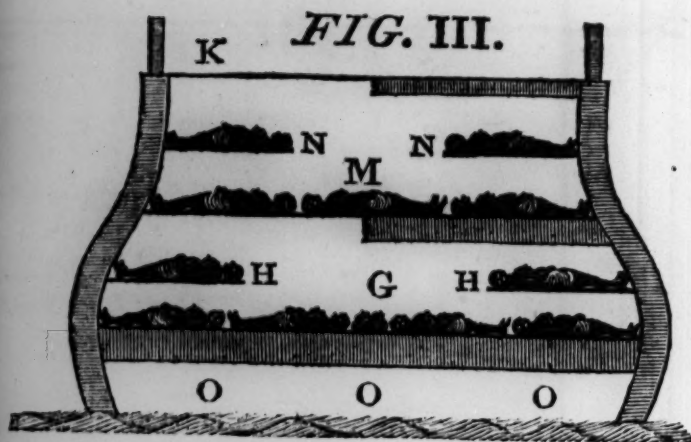
“Upon the place beneath. It is twice blessed ;

“It blesteth him that *gives*, and him that *takes*.”

F I N I S.



# DESCRIPTION OF



# OF A SLAVE SHIP.

FIG. I.

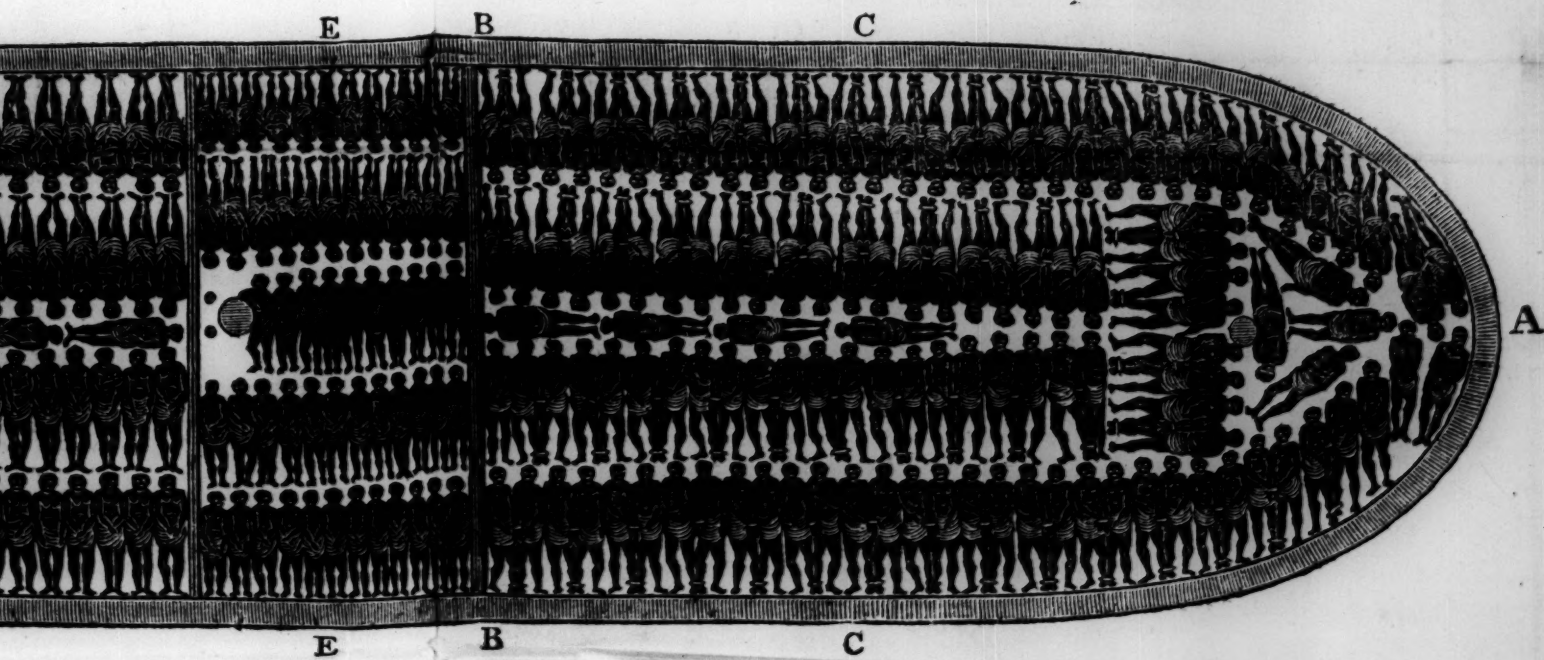
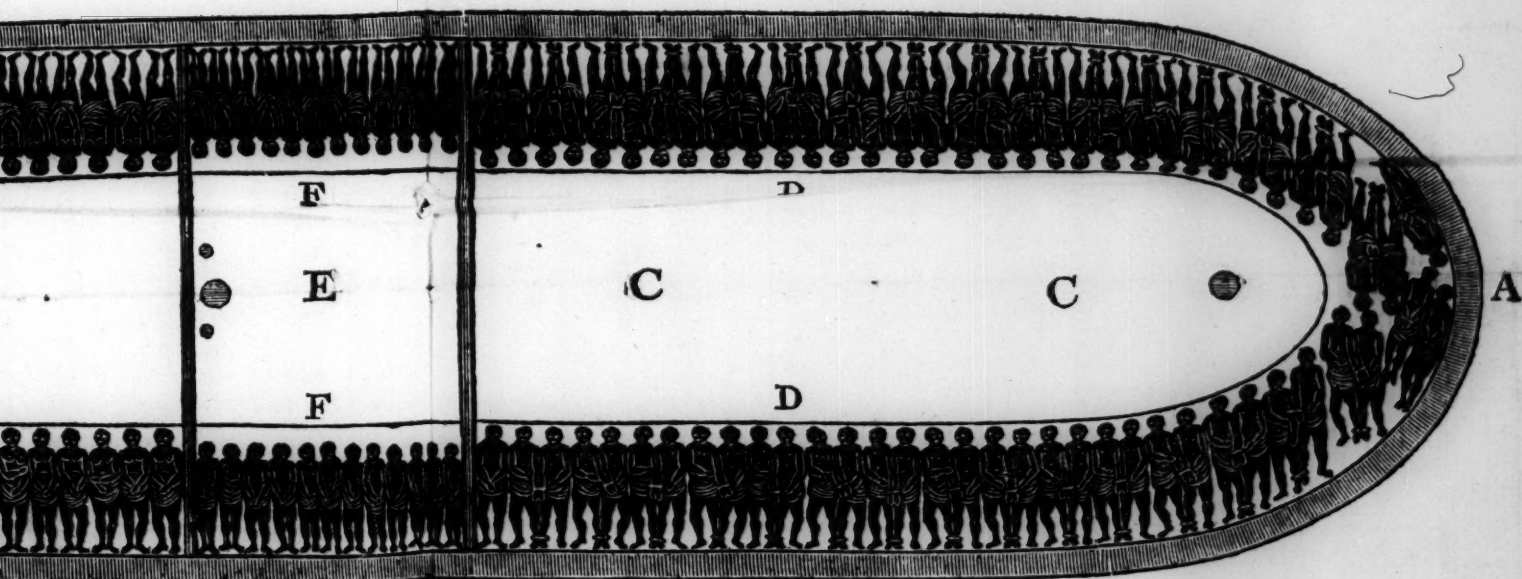
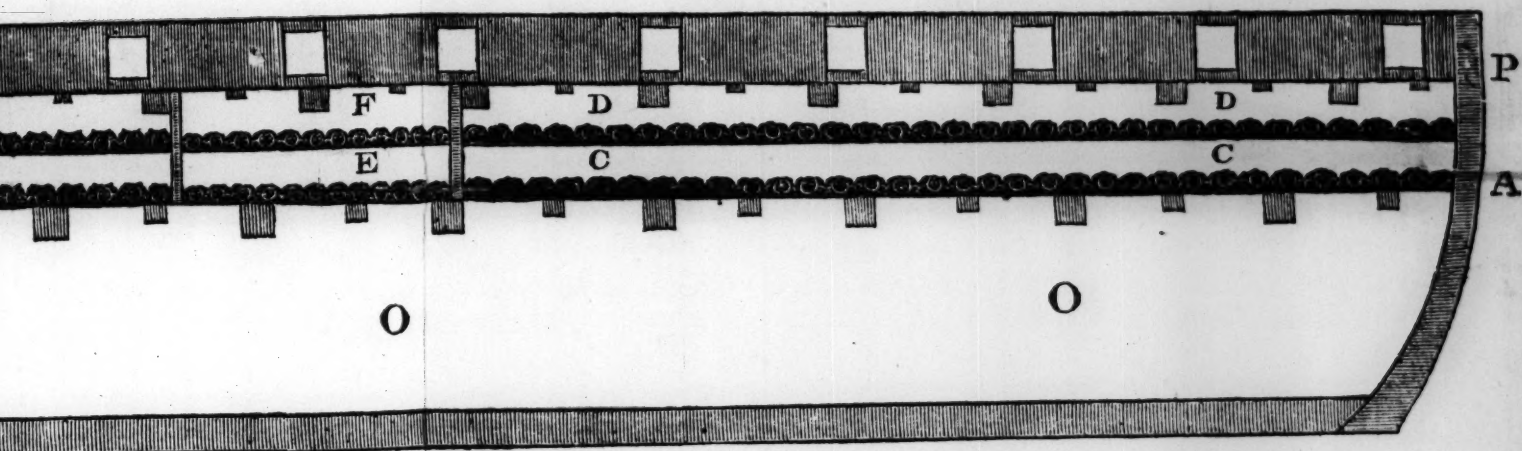




FIG. VII.

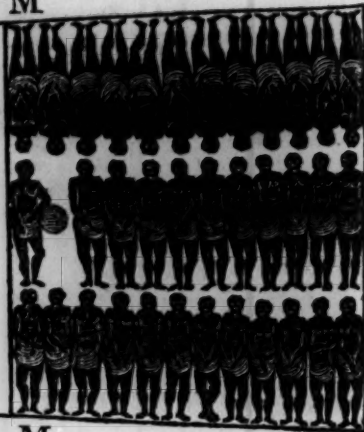
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FIG. VI.

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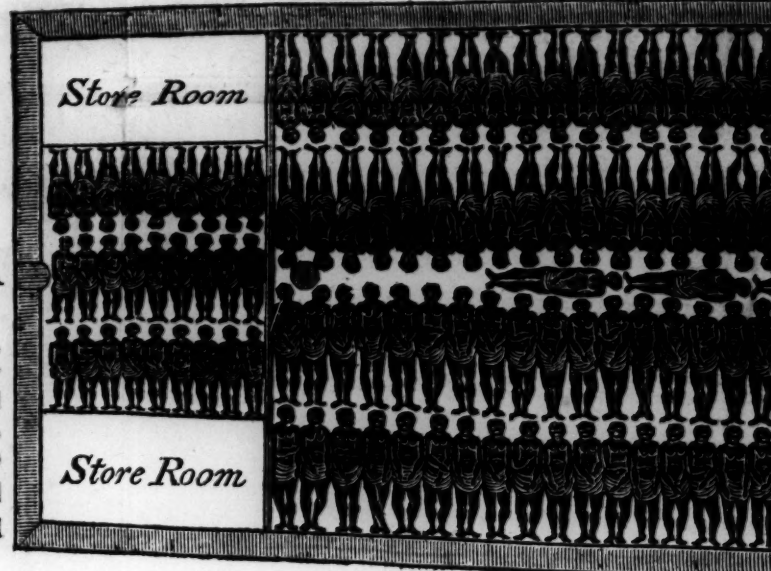


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FIG. IV.



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The PLAN and SECTIONS annexed exhibit a slave ship with the slaves stowed.\* In order to give a representation of the trade against which no complaint of exaggeration could be brought by those concerned in it, the *Brooks* is here described, a ship well known in the trade, and the first mentioned in the report delivered to the House of Commons last year by Captain Parrey, who was sent to Liverpool by Government to take the dimensions of the ships employed in the African slave trade from that port. These plans and sections are on a scale of the 8th of an inch to a foot.

## DIMENSIONS OF THE SHIP.

	Feet	Inches
Length of the Lower Deck, gratings, bulk-heads, included at AA	100	0
Breadth of Beam on the Lower Deck inside, BB	25	4
Depth of Hold, OOO from ceiling to ceiling	10	0
Height between decks from deck to deck	5	8
Length of the Mens Room, CC on the lower deck	46	0
Breadth of the Mens Room, CC on the lower deck	25	4
Length of the Platforms, DD in the mens room	46	0
Breadth of the Platforms in mens rooms on each side	6	0
Length of the Boys Room, EE	13	9
Breadth of the Boys Room	25	0
Breadth of Platforms, FF in boys room	6	0
Length of Womens Room, GG	28	6
Breadth of Womens Room	23	6
Length of Platforms, HH in womens room	28	6
Breadth of Platforms in womens room	6	0
Length of the Gun Room, II on the lower deck	10	6
Breadth of the Gun Room on the lower deck	12	0
Length of the Quarter Deck, KK	33	6
Breadth of Quarter Deck	19	6
Length of Cabin, LL	14	0
Height of the Cabin	6	2
Height of the Half Deck, MM	16	6
Height of the Half Deck	6	2
Length of the Platforms, NN on the half deck	16	6
Breadth of the Platforms on the half deck	6	0
Upper deck, PP		

Nominal tonnage	297
Supposed tonnage by measurement	320
Number of seamen	45

The number of slaves which this vessel actually carried appears from the accounts given to Capt. Parrey by the slave-merchants themselves as follows:

Men	351
Women	127
Boys	90
Girls	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>609</b>

The room allowed to each description of slaves in this plan is:

To the Men 6 feet by 1 foot 4 inches.

Women 5 feet 10 in. by 1 foot 4 in.

Boys 5 feet by 1 foot 2 in.

Girls 4 feet 6 in. by 1 foot.

\* This is the usual manner of placing the slaves, but it varies according to the position of the ship, and the practice of different commanders.

With this allowance of room the utmost number that can be stowed in a vessel of the dimension of the *Brooks*, is as follows, (being the number exhibited in the plan) and is  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to a ton, viz. †

	On the Plan.	Actually carried.
Men—on the lower deck, at CC	124	
Ditto on the platform of ditto, CC DD	66	190
Boys—lower deck EE	48	
Ditto—platform FF	24	82
Women—lower deck, GG	83	
Ditto—platform, HH	40	183
Women Half deck, MM	36	127
Ditto Platform ditto, NN	24	
Girls Gun room, II	27	41

General total 482 609

The principal difference is in the men. It must be observed, that the men, from whom only insurrections are to be feared, are kept continually in irons, and must be stowed in the room allotted for them, which is of a more secure construction than the rest.

In this ship the number of men actually carried was 351  
The number of men stated in the plan at 1 foot 4 inches each 190

Difference — 161

As the ship on this plan would stow 42 women boys and girls in the places here allotted them more than she did carry, supposing that number of men taken from the mens room, and placed in their stead, this will reduce the number of men to 309 in the mens room; of course the room allowed them, instead of being 16 inches as in the plan, was in reality only 10 inches each; but if the whole number 351 were stowed in the mens room, they had only 9 inches each to lay in.

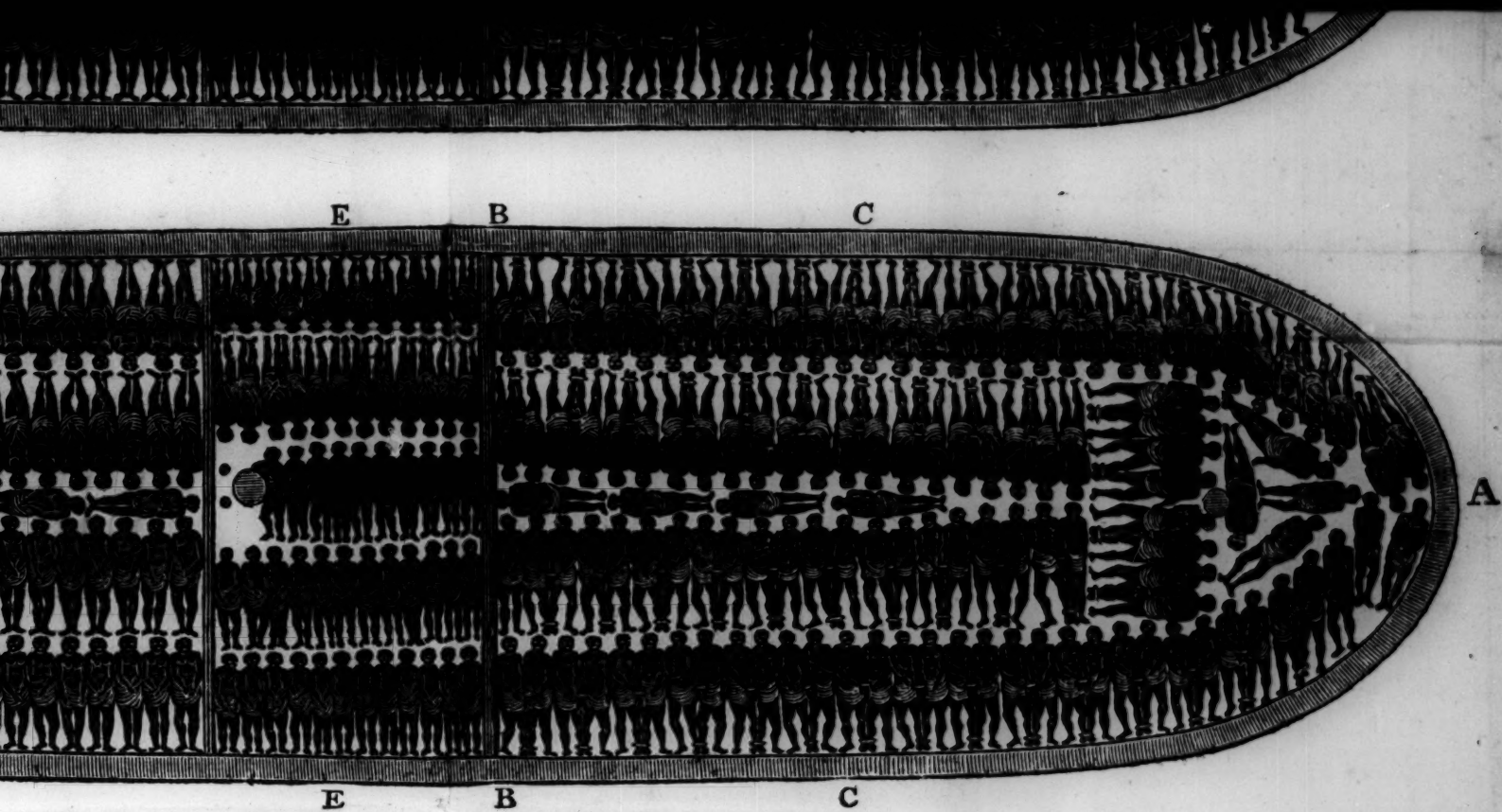
The men therefore, instead of lying on their backs, were placed, as is usual, in full ships, on their sides, or on each other. In which last situation they are not unfrequently found dead in the morning.

The longitudinal section, fig. I. shews the manner in which the slaves were placed on all the decks and platforms, which is also further illustrated by the transverse sections, fig. II. & III. By which it appears, that the height between the decks is 5 feet 8 inches, which, allowing 1 inch for the platform and its bearers, makes the height between the decks and the platform 2 feet 9 inches; but the beams and their knees, with the carlings, taking 4 inches on an average, this space is unequally divided, and above or under the platforms cannot be estimated at more than 2 feet 7 inches; so that the slaves cannot, when placed either on or under the platform, relieve themselves by sitting up; the very short ones excepted, nor can they, except on board the larger vessels. The average of 9 vessels measured by Captain Parrey, being mostly large ships, was only 5 feet 2 inches. The height of the Venus between decks was 4 feet 2 inches; of the Kitty, 4 feet 4 inches, both of which had platforms. In these smaller vessels therefore they have not 2 feet under or upon the platforms.

In fig. 1. under the upper deck PP, and the lower deck AA, the beams and the intervening carlings are represented by shaded squares. The beams are also introduced on one side of the transverse sections II and III, in order to shew the space which a slave placed under a beam has to lie and breathe in.

† It must be noted, that every possible advantage of stowing is allowed in the plan. There are or ought to be in each apartment one or more poopoo tubs; there are also stanchions to support the platforms and decks; for which no deduction is made; but the deck is supposed clear of every incumbrance whatever.





It may be expected, from this mode of packing a number of our fellow-creatures, used in their own country to a life of ease, and from the anguish of mind their situation must necessarily create, that many of them fall sick and die. Instances sometimes occur of horrible mortality. The average is not less than 1-5th, or 20 per cent. The half deck is sometimes appropriated for a sick berth; but the *men slaves* are seldom indulged the privilege of being placed there, till there is little hope of recovery. The slaves are never allowed the least bedding, either sick or well; but are stowed on the bare boards, from the friction of which, occasioned by the motion of the ship, and their chains, they are frequently much bruised; and in some cases the flesh is rubbed off their shoulders, elbows, and hips.

It may not be improper to add a short account of the mode of securing, airing, and exercising the slaves.

The women and children are not chained, but the men are constantly chained two and two; the right leg of one to the left leg of the other, and their hands are secured in the same manner.

They are brought up on the main deck every day, about eight o'clock, and as each pair ascend, a strong chain, fastened by ring-bolts to the deck, is passed through their shackles; a precaution absolutely necessary to prevent insurrections. — In this state, if the weather is favourable, they are permitted to remain about one-third part of the twenty-four hours, and during this interval they are fed, and their apartment below is cleaned; but when the weather is bad, even those indulgencies cannot be granted them, and they are only permitted to come up in small companies, of about ten at a time, to be fed, where after remaining a quarter of an hour, each mess is obliged to give place to the next in rotation.

In very bad weather, some are unavoidably brought on deck: there being no other method of getting water, provisions, &c. out of the hold, but by removing those slaves who lie on the hatch-ways. The consequence of this violent change from their rooms, which are inconceivably hot, to the wind and rain, is their being attacked with coughs, swellings of the glands of the neck, fevers, and dysenteries; which are communicated by infection to the other slaves, and also to the sailors.

The only exercise of the men-slaves is their being made to jump in their chains; and this, by the friends of the trade, is called *dancing*.

To persons unacquainted with the mode of carrying on this system of trading in human flesh, these Plans and Sections will appear rather a fiction, than a real representation of a slave-ship. They will probably object, that there is no room for stowing cables, and such other utensils and stores as are usually placed between decks. In a slave ship (i. e. a full one) these articles are either deposited in the hold, or piled upon the upper deck; and from thence, in case of bad weather, or accidents, no small confusion is occasioned. — It may be also said, the slaves are placed so very close, that there is not room for the surgeon to visit and assist them: The fact is, that when the surgeon goes amongst them, he picks out his way as well as he can, by stepping between their legs. He frequently finds it to be impossible to afford them that relief which an humane man (and such there are even in this trade) would willingly give them. When attacked with fluxes, their situation is scarcely to be described. To give an instance, (as related by an eye-witness) as it serves to convey some idea, though a very faint one, of the sufferings of those unhappy beings whom we wantonly drag from their native country, and doom to perpetual labour and captivity: "Some wet and blowing weather having occasioned the port-holes to

"be shut, and the grating to be covered, fluxes and fevers among the negroes ensued. While they were in this situation, my profession requiring it, I frequently went down among them, till at length their

"apartments became so extremely hot, as to be only sufferable for a very short time. But the excessive heat was not the only thing that rendered their situation intolerable. The deck, that is, the floor of their rooms, was so covered with the blood and mucus which had proceeded from them in consequence of the flux, that it resembled a slaughter-house. It is not in the power of the human imagination to picture to itself a situation more dreadful or disgusting. Numbers of the slaves had fainted, they were carried upon deck, where several of them died, and the rest were, with difficulty, restored. It had nearly proved fatal to me also."\*

Another objection which may be stated, is, that here no room is allowed for the sailors hammocks. In slave ships, while the slaves are on board, the sailors have no other lodging than the bare decks, or (in large ships) the tops. From this exposure, they often are wet for a long time together, the rains in those climates being frequent and extremely heavy. There is in wet weather a tarpawling placed over the gratings: if the sailors to shelter themselves creep under this, they are exposed to the noisome and infectious effluvia which continually exhale from the slaves below.

It appeared from the evidence given by the slave merchants last year before the House of Commons, that the employment of the seamen, viz. boating up the rivers after the negroes, guarding them on board, cleansing the vessel, &c. is of a nature offensive and dangerous beyond that of seamen in other services, and that the small-pox, measles, flux, and other contagious disorders, are frequent on board these ships.

It is therefore falsely said by the well-wishers to this trade, that the suppression of it will destroy a great nursery for seamen, and annihilate a very considerable source of commercial profit. — The Rev. Mr. Clarkson, in his admirable treatise on the Impolicy of the Trade, has proved from the most incontestable authority, that so far from being a nursery, it has been constantly and regularly a grave for our seamen; for that in this traffick only, a greater proportion of men perish in ONE year, than in all the other trades of Great Britain in TWO years.

Besides the time spent on the coast to complete their cargoes, which sometimes lasts several months, the slaves are from six to eight weeks on their passage from thence to the West-Indies.

Now let any person reflect on the situation of a number of these devoted people, thus managed and thus crammed together, and he must think it dreadful, even under every favourable circumstance of an humane captain, an able surgeon, fine weather, and a short passage. But when to a long passage are added, inhuman treatment, scanty and bad provisions, and rough weather, their condition is miserable beyond description. So destructive is this traffick in some circumstances, particularly in bad weather, when the slaves are kept below, and the gratings covered with tarpawlings, that a schooner, which carried only 140 slaves, meeting with a gale of wind which lasted eighteen hours, no less than 50 slaves perished in that small space of time.

As then the inhumanity of this trade must be universally admitted and lamented, people would do well to consider that it does not often fall to the lot of individuals, to have an opportunity of performing so important a moral and religious duty, as that of endeavouring to put an end to a practice, which may, without exaggeration, be stiled one of the *greatest evils at this day existing upon the earth*.

\* Falconbridge's Account of the Slave Trade, page 31.



Fig. 1.



TABLE SHIL.

## A P P E N D I X.

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AFTER these observations had been printed off, the paper in which the following advertisement appeared, came into the Author's hands. It does infinite honour to the advertiser, and is one noble instance of humanity, &c. rising superior to self interest. Nor will the name of the GROCER of *Haverhill* be soon forgotten, at least among the friends of the Abolition.

GENERAL EVENING POST, *March 6th*, 1792.

JAMES WRIGHT,  
OF HAVERHILL.

BEING impressed with a Sense of the unparalleled SUFFERINGS of our FELLOW-CREATURES, the AFRICAN SLAVES in the WEST-INDIA ISLANDS, and also with the abominable Means practised in procuring them, and towards them after they are procured; the Accounts of the Robberies, Murders, Burning of Towns, Stirring up and exciting the Natives to make War and Depredations on each other, in order to obtain Captives to sell to European Traders in the Human Species; and also the extreme Cruelties and unchristian Treatment that  
are

## A P P E N D I X.

are exercised towards them after captivated, and on board the Slave Ships, with the Brandings, Whippings, and cruel Torturings that are inflicted after their Arrival at the place of Destination, the mere Recital of which is shocking to Humanity ; which Accounts appear so indisputably authenticated, that even those Men concerned in this unrighteous Traffic have not disproved :—Therefore being impressed (as I have said) with the Sufferings and Wrongs of that deeply-injured People, and also with an Apprehension, that while I am Dealer in that Article, which appears to be a principal Support of the Slave Trade, I am encouraging Slavery, I take this Method of informing my Customers, that I mean to discontinue selling the Article of SUGAR (when I have disposed of the Stock I have on Hand) till I can procure it through Channels less contaminated, more unconnected with Slavery, and less polluted with Human Blood.—My motive for publishing the above was, lest some of my Customers, whose Favours I have experienced many Years (and yet earnestly solicit a Continuance of, for such Articles that I am free to deal in) should be at a loss to account for my Conduct in this Matter.

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OF THE

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PRICE ONE SHILLING.

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*Sold for the BENEFIT of the SOCIETY*

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